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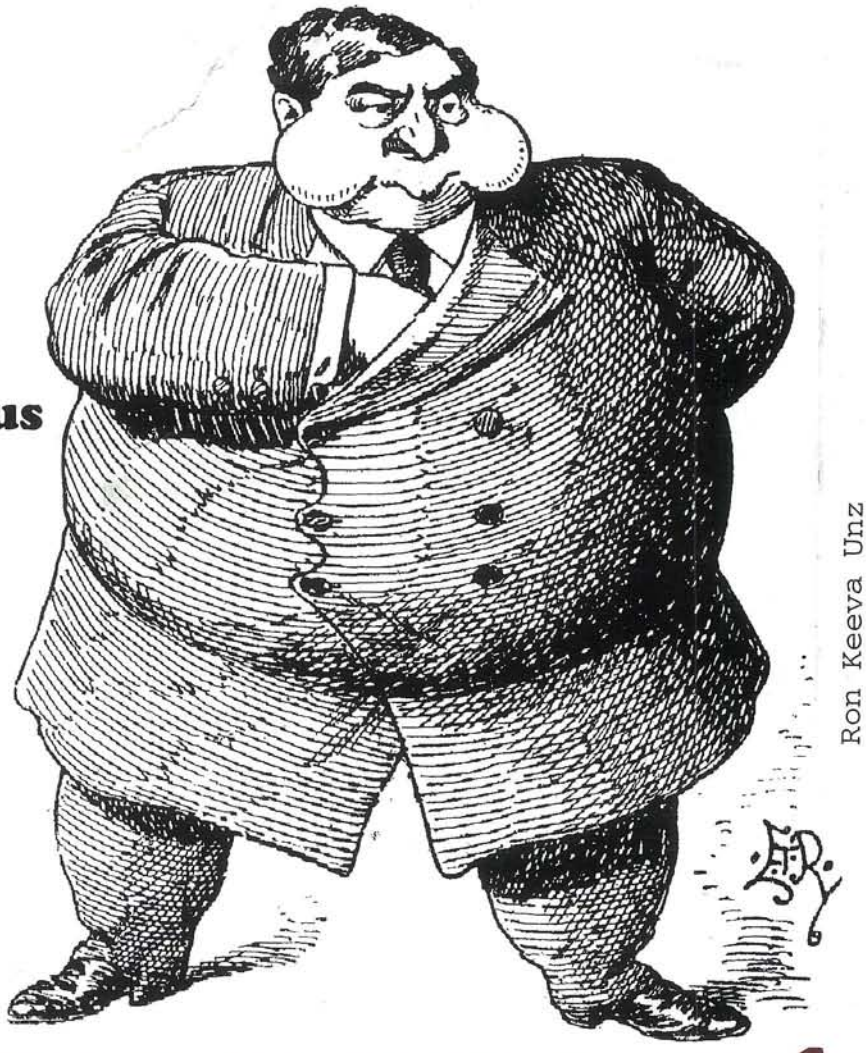
Moderate Democrats?
William E. Saracino 25

Richard Pombo: Staring down the people-haters
M. David Stirling 7

California enacts its first $100 billion-plus budget
by Ray Haynes 17



Ron Keeva Unz

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Palo Alto, CA 94301

Big Government

The Road to Serfdom, *excerpted*
Lessons for Sacramento budgeteers
Friedrich A. Hayek 14

Using Illegals — Reapportionment counts people, not voters
Sen. H.L. 'Bill' Richardson [ret.] 23

The Cooling! The Warming!! The Poison Ivy!!!
Si Frumkin's Journal 28

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FEATURES

COVER ARTICLES: Big Government

The too-much neglected moral case for avoiding explosively growing government, in two installments:

The Road to Serfdom by **Friedrich A. Hayek** — An excerpt with lessons for California, introduced by John Kurzweil. 14

California's First $100 billion-plus General Fund budget by **Ray Haynes** — How power corrupts. 17

Using Illegals By Senator H.L. 'Bill' Richardson [ret.] 23

How reapportionment helps the left elect a disproportionately Democrat state Legislature.

Diogenous Quest: Looking for a moderate Democrat By William E. Saracino 25

Examining the June Primary results — Has big business finally uncovered a creature heretofore thought to be mythical?

Si Frumkin's Journal: The Cooling! The Warming!! The Poison Ivy!!! By Si Frumkin 28

Remember Global Cooling? The wonder is that the planet survived long enough to be threatened by global warming.

DEPARTMENTS

Correspondence 2

Sacramento Spectator 3

The Working Press By George Neumayr 4

Facts on Gun Control By Sam Paredes 6

Those in power over us By M. David Stirling 7

Business Trends By Theodore A. Alta 10

The Law By Harold Johnson & J. David Breemer. 12

ARTS & CULTURE

Criticus By G.B. Tennyson 31

Revisionism 101 — Revisionism by fiction: *The Da Vinci Code*, with an emphasis on *fiction;* also the *Politically Incorrect Guides* series, debunking everything from the New Deal (it prolonged the Great Depression) to Global Warming and left-wing Feminism.

First Things By John Kurzweil 36

Love: The First Things *in action.*

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CORRESPONDENCE

Remembering Lyn

Thanks to John Kurzweil for his moving, enlightening "Toast to Lyn Nofziger" (*CPR*, May/June). And, of course, congratulations to him for recognizing way back in 1976 that Mr. Nofziger was a great man. It took a lot of us somewhat longer to wake up to that reality.

Steve Williams
Apple Valley

Of Bilbrays and Dominoes

Regarding William E. Saracino's "A domino teeters — will the GOP notice?" (*CPR Online*, posted June 7), Mr. Brian Bilbray was my representative in the late '90s. He was on the House Committee that voted out the Articles of Impeachment of Bill Clinton. Bilbray voted in favor of impeachment, and I e-mailed him to congratulate him for having the courage to do the right thing.

For his efforts, he was targeted and gerrymandered, about which Mr. Saracino wrote that Bilbray "lost his former House seat to Democrat Susan Davis after running a lackluster campaign."

I recall when Susan Davis began her political career. In 1992, I received a flyer from her campaign (and of course, the teachers' union) recommending that I vote for "Suan Davis" (*sic*) because of her record of "suppoting" (*sic*) education. My opinion of Susan Davis was set in stone right there. Francine Busby struck me as another "Suan" Davis, only dumber and even more pretentious.

I do not live in the 50th; but I'm quite content to see Bilbray back in congress. Bilbray has many faults; name a congressman who doesn't.

Of course, the Pete Wilson-Gerry Parsky Gang is a pack of RINOs and worse. But this is California; let's be happy with what we can get. "Politics is the art of the possible."

Jim Stevenson
San Diego

Mr. Saracino responds:

Mr. Stevenson is correct when he says that "politics is the art of the possible." Had Bilbray been running in his old, very marginal district, the one he lost to Susan Davis in a campaign described to me at the time by many local observers as "lackluster," I would have had much less objection to his candidacy.

But running in the 50th CD — rock solid conservative territory — the *raison d'etre* for Bilbray's candidacy (that his moderation would help win) was hogwash. To check this out just look at the first round election results: 85 percent of Republicans voted for someone other then Bilbray, and he eeked out a win thanks only to the votes of liberal Democrat, Green, and DTS voters.

As mentioned in my column, Bilbray swears his votes will now reflect the conservative leanings of his district. Let's hope they do, because I'd hate to have to move to a beach-front house in San Diego in two years to lead the effort to oust him in a Republican-voters-only primary.

Please send Correspondence to: Editor, *California Political Review*, Post Office Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011-0931, or: Editor, *CPR Online*, calprev@cppf.us. Correspondence may be condensed due to space limitations.

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Yes there's trouble my friends, right here in River City — but nothing about youngsters popping Sen-Sen or playing pool after school. It's about a possible full-scale meltdown for the Democrat statewide ticket. Your *Spectator's* many friends familiar with Donkey doings tell an unpretty tale — unless you're a Republican. So: a brief rundown, as heard over liberal libations at mostly liberal watering holes around town.

Gubernatorial nominee Phil Angelides loathes Steve Westly. Angelides, already thinking the state controller a rank opportunist for his cozying up to Schwarzenegger during the governor's post-recall "honeymoon," believes Westly's attack ads in the Primary were both "below the belt" and "border-line racist."

Westly returns the sentiment with gusto. He's described Angelides to friends as a "worn-out political hack," stuck in 1970s liberalism. While he and Angelides will certainly appear at the requisite number of "unity" events, most neutral observers I spoke with assume Westly will vote for Schwarzenegger and at least one or two other statewide GOP nominees.

It isn't much rosier down the Democrat ticket. Republicans believe John Garamendi, the donkey banner-carrier for lieutenant governor, holds no fixed convictions beyond self-advancement (a more charitable view of him than many Democrats hold).

For his part, Garamendi, who considers Angelides a sure loser in November, can, because of his personal wealth, run a campaign totally separate from the top of the ticket. This news does not make Angelides' day, but should make for interesting consideration in the McClintock camp. Democrats think they can make a little hay by pointing out policy differences between Schwarzenegger and McClintock. But the GOP Gov.-Lt. Gov. "ticket" — united, with a grudging respect and even some personal warmth between the two candidates — plans to turn the tables, making Garamendi respond to the Angelides platform, particularly on fiscal matters.

On to the contest for insurance commissioner, pitting GOP nominee Steve Poizner against Lt. Governor Cruz "Mecha" Bustamante. Top Democrats view it, quite simply, as an unwinnable disaster. They don't want to talk about it, and most certainly don't want to fund it. Things could grow ugly enough for Mecha-Cruz to play the race card against his own Party come the fall as explanation for his shortage of funds.

Last and certainly not least is attorney general. Democrat angst here is not so much that their nominee, Jerry Brown, is a likely loser. The concern is that Brown, being by far the most recognizable name, and arguably the most interesting personality on their ticket, will "suck up all the oxygen in the room," which is politico-speak for hog the limelight and get all the attention.

If that occurs, it would give the GOP ticket, especially Republican nominee Chuck Poochigian, an opening to make the election a referendum on Brown's tenure as governor. This in turn would highlight matters the Democrats dearly wish to keep away from the voters' attention: Rose Bird, Diamond Lanes, the Medfly, etc., with unpleasant consequences for the entire ticket.

A third house member said he'd heard "any number of [plausible] scenarios" for a governor-on-down GOP victory, he had "yet to hear a believable one that points to a Democrat victory." This turnabout from last spring, with Democrats fretting and setting their hair on fire, has your *Spectator* enjoying his *mojitos* even a little more than usual this summer.

— A.P.C.

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The Working Press

One woman, one choice, one time.

Feminists cheer women for taking high-profile media jobs, then jeer them for leaving them.

GEORGE NEUMAYR

FEMINISTS CHEERED the *San Jose Mercury News* for naming its first female sports editor, Rachel Wilner. The *Mercury News* announced the appointment in June, noting with dismay that Wilner joins a distressingly small group of female sports editors across the country. At the 435 newspapers in the U.S., "only 14" women "have the top sports job," the *Mercury News* reported. Other newspapers with female sports editors include: the *Seattle Times,* the *Kansas City Star,* the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* and the *Raleigh News and Observer.*

The *Merc's* story on the appointment chalked up the paucity of female sports editors to "lifestyle issues" (that women tend not to work late and so on) and to the media's favorite bugaboo, discrimination. It found an "expert" to say: "You're dealing with organizations that are primarily male-heavy at the top and all the way through. It's the good old boys' network times 10."

Feminists cheer women like Rachel Wilner for taking high-profile media jobs, then jeer them for leaving them. Ask Elizabeth Vargas. She ran into a storm of feminist criticsm after she announced in May that she was leaving "ABC World News Tonight"'s anchor chair due to pregnancy and a desire to spend more time with her family. She has really let the team down. "Some women disappointed in ABC's Vargas," ran one headline. So much for "choice."

Some feminist leaders, however, took the tack of assailing ABC for not setting up a special schedule for pregnant news anchors. "We see it as a demotion," snarled Eleanor Smeal, president of the Feminist Majority Foundation. "We're worried. Is this a return to the days when it was tougher for women to get ahead?"

Smeal and other feminist leaders fired off a letter to ABC executives, demanding that they in effect prevent Vargas from leaving (Smeal and company refuse to believe that Vargas wants to spend more time with her children and think ABC forced her out).

"This clear demotion signals a dispiriting return to the days of discrimination against women that we thought were behind us," read the letter as reported by *Associated Press.* The letter also demanded that ABC establish a work schedule sensitive to the needs of working mothers.

Kim Grandy, president of the National Organization for Women, blasted ABC for "eliminating two of the country's most visible women role models." Grandy was referring to Vargas and Geena Davis, the actress who played the president in the axed show, "Commander in Chief."

Meanwhile, pepping up feminist spirits, Katie Couric is set to assume the anchorman's chair of Dan Rather, who has let it be known he remains "confused" by the uproar over his use of forged documents against George Bush. O.J.-like, Rather still searches for the real ones.

The California Legislature is capable of passing laws on anything, no matter how trivial, provided the legislation moves the ball down field for the left. In May, the Assembly felt a need to shore up the rights of "student journalists," passing a law preventing public school officials from "censoring" content in student newspapers.

Democrat Assemblyman Leland Yee said he introduced the legislation after students informed him that a federal appeals court decision, *Hosty v. Carter,* could jeopardize their newspapers. *Hosty* held that college

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George Neumayr is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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officials had the same authority over student newspapers as high school administrators. Yee didn't seem to mind that the decision, handed down by the Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in an Illinois case, has no effect on California (which is under the jurisdiction of the *Ninth* U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals).

THE ASSEMBLYMAN *does* seem to mind that student newspaper "free speech" legislation could protect the work of politically incorrect college journalists. His bill carved out a gaping loophole to allow censorship of "hate speech." Anyone care to wager how that will be defined by college administrators?

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

Blogs are increasingly becoming a form of self-defense for individuals and institutions that not so long ago were at the mercy of the dominant mainstream media. Take, for example, the Los Angeles Police Department. After enduring decades of hostile media coverage, the LAPD set up a blog in May to counteract tendentious journalists.

"I see the blog, which is first and foremost a department blog, as an opportunity to communicate with the public and educate them about what we are doing at the LAPD," said Police Chief William Bratton. "But I also see it as an opportunity for me to respond to those issues where I feel the department is being misrepresented."

The *Los Angeles Times* immediately saw a downside to the blog – it won't reach poor people in high-crime areas who don't have access to the Internet.

⚜ ⚜ ⚜

The growing popularity of blogs continues to annoy the big media. According to Greg Sandoval of *CNET News.com,* bloggers are "creaming off newspaper readers." Sandoval cites a "recent study by Forrester Research" that "blogs and newspaper websites now have the same audience share — about 17 percent — among Internet users between the ages of 18 and 24."

This is forcing reluctant newspapers to enter the blogging business themselves, he writes. "Initially caught off guard by blogs, newspapers and old-guard news agencies are now racing to present their own. So

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far, the results have been mixed. While papers such as Texas' *Austin American-Statesman* are using blogs to give readers a news voice they never had before, other papers such as the *Washington Post* are struggling with everything from charges of plagiarism in their blogs to being labelled with the word every editor dreads: "boring."

THE ENCROACHING pressure of blogs is unnerving mainstream journalists, as evidenced by such farces as a "Pulitzer prize-winning" reporter and columnist at the *Los Angeles Times,* Michael Hiltzik, resorting to anonymous blogging as a way of smiting his conservative critics and touting his own work. Mortified by Hiltzik's juvenile conduct — he would sneak on to conservative blogging sites under an assumed name to lash out at critics such as radio host Hugh Hewitt — the *Times* cashiered him from his job as a columnist and took away his *latimes.com* blog.

It is not suprising, after all, that reporters, chafing under the pretence of impartiality, would resort to anonymous blogging as a weapon against gadflies. Hiltzik is not alone; several reporters across the country have been fired or punished in the last year for similar incidents.

The *Times* now has to take fire from all directions: from the Robert Scheer left to the Ann Coulter right, from bloggers to the president of the United States. In May, President Bush used a speech at George Washington University to criticize obliquely an unnamed newspaper for helping the enemy in Iraq.

"Earlier this year, a newspaper published details of a new anti-IED technology [designed to counter roadside bombs] that was being developed. Within five days of the publication — using details from that article — the enemy had posted instructions for defeating this new technology on the Internet. We cannot let the enemy know how we're working to defeat him," he said.

White House aides leaked to the press that Bush was taking a swipe at the *Times.*

WHAT YOU HAVEN'T BEEN TOLD ABOUT GUN CONTROL

By SAM PAREDES

Dueling, once acceptable as a way to uphold one's honor, involved mutual agreement as to weapons and rules. An impartial third party insured fairness. The outcome, ahem, was final.

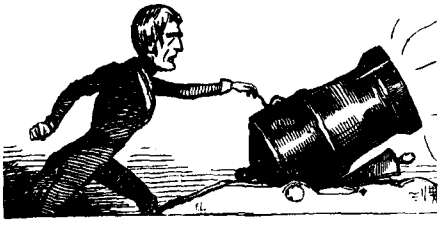
Alas, we live in lapsed times. Ardent anti-gun Assemblyman Paul Koretz, who presumably wants to be thought a man of honor, last June issued a dueling challenge to Assemblyman Jay La Suer over proposed microstamp etching on semi-automatic handgun firing pins:

"... I'm willing," Koretz said, "to put this bill (AB 352) to a challenge if it passes off the floor today ... to challenge Mr. La Suer to take a gun with this technology and a file: if he is able to remove the print on it and then still fire the gun, I will withdraw this bill ...."

Sam Paredes is executive director of Gun Owners of California. For more information go to www.gunownersca.com.

La Suer, of course, accepted the challenge. The weapons were to be firing pins and files. The impartial third parties would be the gunsmiths at the California Highway Patrol Academy. Time and date were agreed upon for the showdown at the CHP Corral.

Oh, but wait! AB 352's sponsors freaked out when they heard of the *affaire d'honneur.* First, they refused to provide a firing pin, so the gallant La Suer told Koretz he would purchase a brand-new handgun for the test. He also forwarded a newly-published report by nationally-renowned firearms forensics specialists who held scientific third party tests on the technology's reliability and feasibility, and found it easily defeated and unreliable at best.



Then Koretz wanted the rules of engagement altered: La Suer would receive only household files, a handgun, and 30 minutes to disassemble it, file the firing pin, reassemble the gun, and return it to the CHP for firing. Average criminals, Koretz argued, would lack gunsmith training and sophisticated tools to defeat the technology. Also, La Suer would not be told the type, make, or model of handgun to be used.

Koretz did *not* point out that thus rigging the test was the only way he could win, but La Suer got the message and told Koretz he would give his farce a pass. But Koretz, now hot to go, dueled all alone at the CHP Corral, later announcing that — surprise!! — he won. An affair of honor, liberal-style.

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Those in power over us

Rare species, you say? Try politicians in the Pombo mode.

Rare, yes, but not endangered. An honest, courageous congressman stares down the thugs of the enviro-left.

M. DAVID STIRLING

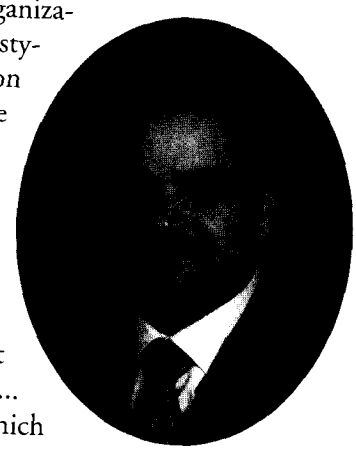
LARGE ENVIRONMENTALIST organizations like the Sierra Club and the Center for Biological Diversity – to name two of many – comprise one of the nation's most powerful political forces. Through their websites, blogs, press statements, and multi-million-piece mailings, these eco-political organizations utilize impassioned depictions of charismatic species like the gray wolf, the grizzly bear, and the bald eagle to garner influence and raise millions of dollars in pursuit of a "species-first/people-last" vision of environmentalism. And they are able and astute at using their formidable clout in support of political candidates who share their vision.

On the other hand, they reserve their most ferocious assaults for those few intrepid politicians who not only recognize the environmentalists' agenda for what it is but are willing to challenge it publicly, to point out that the objective is not merely "pro-species," but harshly "anti-people," and who dare to give voice and redress to those whose lives, livelihoods, and property have been seriously harmed — even devastated — by the heavy-handed implementation of such laws as the Endangered Species Act of 1973 (ESA). Congressman Richard Pombo is one of those intrepid politicians.

Before being elected to Congress from the Central Valley town of Tracy, Pombo formed a coalition of farmers and other property owners to promote the principle of individual ownership and reasonable use of property against government's attempts to diminish that right. Pombo's *This Land is Our Land,* a book championing private property that he wrote upon his election to Congress in 1993, staked out his area of emphasis. Pombo demonstrated that he knew the threat to private property rights is nowhere more serious than in the environmentalists' use and control of the ESA.

Consider President Bush's nomination of William Myers to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. Myers believes that when a property owner is prohibited by the federal government from using his land because it is habitat for a plant or wildlife species, the government effectively has taken his land for a "public use," *i.e.,* species protection which presumably benefits the public, and in that case he is entitled to "just compensation" under the Fifth Amendment.*

This eminently fair, reasonable interpretation of the "takings" clause is anathema to Environmentalist organizations, and so they have stymied Myers' nomination in the Senate for three years. The Sierra Club vigorously opposes the judge, forthrightly stating its opposition to constitutionally-protected property rights: "(Myers) argues ... that property rights are ... 'fundamental,' ... in which case the government may not intrude upon them, ex-



RICHARD POMBO

M. David Stirling is vice president of the public interest legal organization Pacific Legal Foundation, the nation's premier defender of private property rights in the courts since 1973. (E-mail hium at: www.pacificlegal.org.) (Congressman Pombo's H.R. 3824 can be found at http://resourcescommittee.house.gov/ESA_Homepage.htm).

* The relevant part of the amendment reads: "nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation."

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cept in very narrow circumstances. *This view ... would doom environmental protection." (italics added)* This Sierra Club statement blithely announces that species protection trumps the Constitution, specifically its mandate that a property owner be compensated for the loss of the use of his property.

What environmentalists fear are people in positions to make change, like Myers as a judge and Pombo as a member of Congress. They fear that if government must compensate an owner for the reduced value that its use-restrictions impose upon his land, the government's treasury and taxpayers' patience would soon be exhausted. They fear this would force more reasonable, balanced government regulation of private property; they fear losing their power to have species protected solely on the backs of property owners.

THE WASHINGTON, D.C., environmentalist cabal little noticed young Mr. Pombo when he arrived at the Capitol for the '93-'94 session; after all, he was a new member, of the minority party at that, and a farmer to boot. But, through years of persistence, his Party's good fortune in taking control of the House, and — through hard work and coalition-building — his election as chairman of the powerful House Resources Committee, Richard Pombo became the leading force in Congress for ESA reform.

As a fourth generation farmer and rancher, Richard Pombo was all too aware of the heavy economic and social price people in the rural West, especially in California, have paid under the ESA's harsh provisions and heavy-handed enforcement. Here are just a few real life stories that motivated his 14-year commitment to reform:

• In 1990, the Army Corp of Engineers publicly identified a stretch of the Arboga levee south of Marysville as needing immediate repair, stating that without it, "loss of life is expected." Despite the warning, the ESA's protection of the Longhorn Elderberry Bark Beetle's habitat along the levee delayed approval of the necessary repair until, in January 1997, major flood waters rushing down the Feather River broke through the levee at the exact place where the repairs were needed. As Congressman Pombo described in a House Resources Committee report: "Three human beings lost their lives. Approximately 500 homes, 9,000 acres of prime farmland, and the four largest employers in the poorest county in the state were flooded."

• Large numbers of automobile accidents along a stretch of Highway 70 in Butte County have killed and injured so many people over the years the section has come to be known as "Blood Alley." Plans to straighten the highway's dangerous curves were laid out in 1991, but the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service (FWS) barred construction due to the presence of an endangered tiny wildflower known as Butte County meadow foam. Finally, in 2005, after more than 14 years of continued accidents, FWS approved a $20 million plan, not just to straighten the highway's dangerous curves, but to move the entire intersection of Highway 70 and Highway 149 to avoid disturbing the meadow foam.

• The discovery of eight ESA-protected Delhi sands flower-loving flies in an economically-depressed neighborhood in San Bernardino County delayed for more than a year the construction of a badly needed county medical care facility. The FWS gave the green light for the hospital's construction only after the county spent an additional $3.5 million of taxpayer funds to acquire a new site for the facility, so that the original site could be left vacant as habitat for the family of flies. Meanwhile, people needing emergency

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and other medical services had to be transported elsewhere.

• 1,400 farm families in the Klamath River Basin of southern Oregon and northern California watched their crops, their incomes, and the value of their farmland dry up — with several pushed into bankruptcy — when, in 2001, a federal agency shut off their contract irrigation water, claiming that threatened suckerfish and coho salmon had first call on the water under the ESA.

• Between 1997 and 2003, 405,708 acres of mostly privately-owned land in Alameda, Contra Costa, Santa Clara, and San Joaquin counties were placed off limits to their owners' use, development, or sale to protect the habitat of the threatened Alameda whipsnake. Only after Pacific Legal Foundation secured a landmark federal court judgment setting aside the environmentalist-initiated protection were the victimized property owners able to escape FWS's oppressive control of their property.

Finally, in September 2005, the Congressman-farmer from Tracy, of whom the big environmentalist organizations took little notice in earlier years, achieved a remarkable feat: passage through the House of Representatives of "The Threatened and Endangered Species Recovery Act of 2005" — the first major overhaul of the ESA in more than 33 years. One of its major provisions requires the government to compensate property owners for the fair market value of their loss of use occasioned by the ESA. Another establishes conservation incentives to promote voluntary conservation of listed species on private property, with compensation to the property owner to alleviate the burdens the conservation measures impose on him. Of critical importance, instead of the "command and control" approach of the current ESA, Pombo's reform recognizes the value of encouraging property owners to embrace species conservation voluntarily.

You don't step between rapacious government and its victims without cost. Pombo's 14 years of service defending the human right of private property so enraged the enviro-left, they mounted a Primary challenge to his re-election this year. Ancient former Rep. Pete McCloskey, age 78, who ran briefly for president against Richard Nixon in 1972, was brought out of retirement to oppose Pombo. McCloskey, who represented parts of the San Francisco peninsula in Congress from 1967 to 1983, was a co-author of the En-

Environmentalists fear fair government compensation would force more reasonable, balanced regulation of private property; they fear losing their power to have species protected solely on the backs of property owners.

dangered Species Act. He moved into Pombo's district and proceeded to attack the incumbent in terms no one who knows him and what he stands for would recognize as accurate. This race illustrated how the Enviro-left smears its opponents. Consider the following passage from a June 6 *Associated Press* article on the McClosky challenge:

"Environmental groups including Defenders of Wildlife and the League of Conservation Voters spent heavily on the race. Pombo earned their ire at the helm of the House Resources Committee, where he has sought to expand oil and gas drilling, privatize public lands and rewrite species protections. Critics said his policies would trash the environment to benefit oil companies and other donors."

Notice the burial of the phrase "rewrite species protections" within the heaping mounds of accusations implying Pombo is a corrupt servant of greedy energy millionaires and an opponent of "public lands" — sounds like he wants to sell off Yosemite Valley to make a gravel pit. The article mentions nothing about the people whose lands Pombo is trying to save or the simple issue of compensating them fairly when greedy government steals the property they've earned through their own hard work. Bear in mind, this is not a Defenders of Wildlife press release, although it reads like one, but a supposedly unbiased news report from *Associated Press,* picked up and carried as such by newspapers all over the country, and, presumably, especially in Pombo's district. All we hear of the essential issue between Mr. Pombo and his powerful adversaries is that it has something to do with "species protections."

A man needs courage and a steadfast confidence in the rightness of his cause to stand up to this sort of smear. He also needs patience and skill to beat back the wolves baying after your property and mine, your freedom and mine. And the insults, untruths, and

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abuse will continue as long as Pombo works for ordinary people against the threat of a trampling government.

A lot of people see through the abuse, however. When the dust had settled, Pombo had defeated McClosky 62 to 32 percent. CPR

Business Trends

The Tyranny Party

Anti-Oil: creating more political dependence, not energy independence, is its main concern.

THEODORE A. ALTA

OIL, THROUGH the products it produces, is an essential key to opportunity for America's, California's, and the world's ordinary people. Oil expands everyone's opportunity to live independently, where we like, doing the work we prefer, and to organize our lives and the lives of our families as we think best. Most oil products facilitate efficient moving of people and things: about 40 percent of American oil consumption goes for cars and light trucks and another 32 percent powers buses, railroads, ships, trucks, and agricultural machinery. Another 17 percent is used for petrochemicals that make a wide variety of products people use every day — plastic and paint, for instance. Oil plays an essential role in keeping our state and national economies strong, providing jobs, both directly and indirectly, and a sense of security and well-being, thereby fostering self-reliance and satisfaction with the social and political world we inhabit. Given all that — every element of which tends to oppose or undermine the broad pro-tyranny program of the Democrat Party — it is not surprising that oil holds an honored place in the pantheon of enemies loathed and incessantly assaulted by the political left.

Democrats, not being, as a general rule, foolish (about politics anyway), do not argue directly against freedom. They coat tyranny with euphemistic sugar, and freedom with gall. In the 1920s, dictatorship was renamed "central planning," the right to one's own property became "control of the means of production," and "fair distribution of wealth" was the candy coating for state-sponsored theft. Today the candy is "environmental protection" and the right to earn and use property is equated with pollution, indifference to natural beauty, and greedy selfishness. The words change, but tyranny remains the point of the program.

Do I hear objection? Well, consider a case in point: Democrat gubernatorial nominee Phil Angelides says he wants to "reduce California's gasoline and diesel use by 25 percent in 10 years." Why? Is it because, as I maintain, he is a conscientious member of the Democrat tyranny caucus? Or is it, as his campaign argues, that he sincerely wants to make "California the world leader in developing clean and renewable fuels" and to "clean the air, combat global warming, and curb sprawl while creating tens of thousands of jobs and strengthening California's economy"?

Taking his jobs and economy goal first, I have read both the news release and the more detailed accompanying document available on the Angelides campaign web site (at: http://www.angelides.com/media/releases/2006_0215_cleanca.html?print=t), and can find no plan for "creating" any jobs at all. The candidate says we should use "the State's pension funds to invest $1.5 billion in clean technology, alternative energy, and energy efficiency, to earn strong returns for the funds [and] create jobs ...." But that only means re-directing funds from one set of investment priorities to another. Even supposing all investments produced equal numbers of jobs, nothing is created when

Veteran political writer Theodore A. Alta runs a small business in Southern California.

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"clean technology" jobs are brought into being by *eliminating* the jobs the same investment is "creating" where it is now or would create if not re-directed.

But, of course, all investments do *not* produce equal numbers of jobs. This "plan," to the extent we may call it that, is almost certain to *reduce* the number of jobs created by state pension fund investments. That's because the market directs capital to uses promising the greatest possible return, which means, among other things, the highest likelihood for job creation. Angelides must introduce a political "plan" precisely and solely to derail this market imperative. His stated goals are to reduce "sprawl" and "gasoline consumption," to promote mass transit, and so forth. Investments designed to achieve these goals either *will* or will *not* bring back the highest possible economic return. If they *will* do so, then we don't need Gov. Angelides: the market will send investment to do his will without anyone commanding it. And if such investment will *not* bring the highest return, thereby necessitating Gov. Phil's intervention, it means *fewer* jobs and *less* economic strength, not more.

So much for "creating tens of thousands of jobs and strengthening California's economy." How about "cleaning the air"? Well, these Angelides campaign documents include a lot of talk about that, but none at all about nuclear power. "We have 104 nuclear power plants in operation in America," wrote former Delaware Governor Pete du Pont recently in the *Wall Street Journal,* "that provide clean energy and decrease by 700 million tons the CO_2 released into our atmosphere each year. But we have stopped building nuclear power plants: Construction of the last one began three decades ago. President Bush has proposed the Nuclear Power 2010 Initiative to facilitate plant construction. Sixteen companies have expressed interest, and 25 new nuclear plants are under consideration." Anyone care to guess Angelides' or his core supporters' reaction to the idea of "developing clean and renewable fuels" by facilitating *more* nuclear power? The Nuclear Power 2010 Initiative actually *would* reduce dependence on oil and gas without crippling people's ability to remain free of government paternalism, not to mention strengthening our national security — not the outcomes the candidates's left-wing friends are known to embrace.

Similarly, Angelides has nothing to say about building more freeways, which would reduce congestion (and auto emmission pollution, which increases as traffic slows toward gridlock), or eliminating for good and all the car tax, which would end the tax's built-in incentive for Californians to keep older, more heavily polluting cars. If "cleaner air" depends upon tax cuts, freeways, and nuke plants, it's safe to say Angelides will forego cleaner air.

Well, what's left? The spurious need to "combat global warming"? That myth is dealt with in "Si Frumkin's Journal," page 28 of this issue. (For more information on the phony "science" behind "G.W.," see Tom Bethell's *The Politically Incorrect Guide to Science,* amazon.com) And lastly, there is the Democrat Party's furious crusade to curb "sprawl" — otherwise known as Republican suburbs in contrast to Democrat inner cities. As a veteran Washington political strategist said at a recent forum on party organization and tactics, "Democrats know how to organize people packed into small, urban enclaves — they've been doing it for decades — but not how to do it when people live in spread-out communities" — people, that is, living diverse lives in an environment of greater freedom rather than approximating the inner city herd existence so much in tune with the Democrat ideal of a closed, controlled plantation. Thus, "sprawl" comes in for no fewer than nine denunciations in the Angelides release and supporting documentation.

Trying to square Angelides' goal of "reducing California's gasoline and diesel use by 25 percent in 10 years" with his stated reasons for pursuing it leads into a black hole. But place it in context of an overall yearning for tyranny and fear of freedom and it hangs together seamlessly. (He also wants to force oil companies and auto makers to produce new products and take old ones off the market: ignoring the people's preferences and following the left's dictates on what we all should be allowed to possess and use.)

Lest anyone suspect this is a bald partisan jab for the incumbent, let me just add that the governor has added his own invocations of greenhouse gas targets and hydrogen highways, while also virtually ignoring the actual energy problems afflicting Californians.

This, then, is the trend business should watch and come to grips with in California: no real intention exists in the state political power structure to do anything at all actually likely to improve the energy situation, not among Democrats, to be sure, but also, nearly as surely, in the administration of the state's top and by far most influential and powerful Republican. The main difference between the two is that Democrats seem determined to use energy as a justification for more government and less freedom, while Schwarzenegger seems content to play a me-too game with his ostensible partisan foes, perhaps in hopes of

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recovering the popularity he believes he lost by being too anti-Democrat in last year's special elections.

Business should become a shaper of trends rather than merely reacting to them. And good businessmen know how to sell. The trend to look for is one toward making the case seriously for opening up the vast stores of Alaskan and offshore oil and natural gas, the case for nuclear power, for cleaner coal technology (the nation has 200 years worth of coal) and for other creative ideas and proposals whose common factor would be to increase rather than decrease our freedom and independence and ability to make an honest living — without gaining Phil Angelides as overseer of our lives. CPR

The Law

Coastal Commission fascists suffer welcome reversal

Panel's latest fig leaf excuse for dictatorial regulation of private property is overturned by appeals court.

HAROLD JOHNSON and J. DAVID BREEMER

The California Coastal Commission, tasked with oversight of property use along the ocean's edge and several miles inland, is infamous for charting a course beyond legal limits. Too often its power cruises succeed and property rights are diminished. A welcome exception came last month, when the state Second District Court of Appeals scoffed at the Commission's latest inventive excuse for saying "no" to reasonable land-use requests from property owners. (*see,* in reference to the build-up to this case, "Power tends to corrupt," M. David Stirling, *CPR,* Jan./Feb. 2006.)

Boaters must have pristine views of the coast. This was the new Commission policy that was before the court. A few years ago, after hearing from a sailor whose sensibilities had been offended by some structure or other on the shoreline, the Commission's executive director, Peter Douglas, issued a memorandum expressing his determination to help the boaters by restricting any development that might break up offshore views of the coast.

Douglas put on his poet's hat to justify his latest regulatory squeeze. "People who come ... to be on the water are a community of users whose enjoyment of the coast for recreation, to find solace and inspiration, or to be with wild nature is also deserving of careful stewardship," he lyricized. To protect the quality of the spiritual "sojourn" at sea, Douglas vowed to preserve seascapes "by minimizing the intrusion of human works, particularly along rugged reaches of rural coast."

Translation: If your proposed home can be seen from the sea, there's a good chance the commissioners won't let it be built.

As loopy as it might sound, this new rationale for nixing building permits won't surprise anyone familiar with the Coastal Commission's historic mix of mysticism and authoritarianism. The Commission already bars coastal landowners from building a home near a stream or on a slope, or between a stream and a slope. There can be no building if your home looks different than your neighbors' or different than the surrounding natural setting. No permit if your land contains common plants, like coastal chaparral, which areas the Commission calls "environmentally sensitive area[s]." And no permit if your home might be seen from a public trail or, if shielded from the trail, it could be seen from cars traveling on Highway One.

Nothing in the Coastal Act authorizes such rules. Could the Commission also ban homes that could be

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seen by a skydiver? Alternatively, why not restrict the kinds of vessels that can put to sea, so coastal homeowners can have a pristine ocean view?

Created, ostensibly, to ensure an environmentally sound use of land, the Commission is supposed to respect property rights in the process. But Douglas's Commission continues to demonstrate a bias against landowners. Homes for people are suspect; protecting the "quality of a sojourn" for a "community of users" (which somehow does not include landowners) is mandatory.

As a consequence, the commissioners increasingly restrict building; the supply of new homes and hotel rooms keeps dwindling, and the price of living or vacationing near the beach keeps rising. In the end, the Commission will put the California dream out of reach for all but the most wealthy.

Against this discouraging background, June's court decision in the "boater's right to a view" case is especially heartening. Dennis Schneider had sought to build a single home on the San Luis Obispo County coast. The Coastal Commission, enforcing its new policy restricting construction that might impede views from the ocean, denied permission for his proposed project. Instead, the panel demanded that he build in an area far from the bluff that happened to be geologically unsound for construction. A Superior Court upheld the Commission's decision, including its determination that view-from-the-ocean factors can prohibit construction.

The Second District Court of Appeals unanimously reversed. The decision was based on the small but consequential fact that nothing in the Coastal Commission's enabling legislation authorizes the scuttling of projects simply because they might be seen, from the ocean, by "the occasional boater, kayaker, or surfer."

The Court of Appeals was especially critical of Executive Director Douglas and his attempt to justify the view-from-ocean policy based on the desires of the United States Sailing Association and practices in Maine. Douglas is making noises about recommending an appeal to the state Supreme Court. But for now, the case stands as a win for property rights and rule of law. The Commission's power grab would have put projects up and down the coast in jeopardy based on nothing more than the arbitrary aesthetic whims of Commission staffers and members. The Court of Appeals was right to hold that a boater's "right to a view" does not trump a property owner's right to a home. CPR

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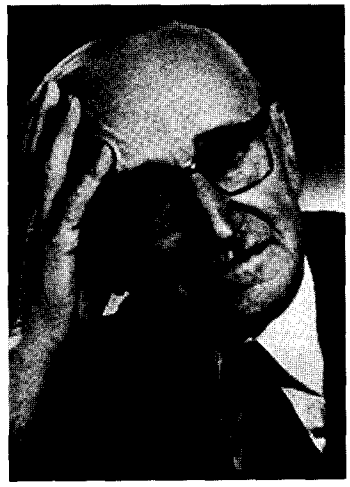
The Road to Serfdom*

Lessons for state budgeteers: government is dangerous

Friedrich A. Hayek introduced by John Kurzweil

Why Hayek?

As Ray Haynes argues persuasively in this issue's cover article (page 17), beyond the often-voiced concerns about how long California can sustain its huge, and hugely growing, state budgets (with their built-in deficits even in times of revenue abundance) lies a moral question of even greater importance: What effect on our leaders' and the people's moral sensibilities can we expect from a political culture in which no one registers any trepidation about entrusting government to spend such vast amounts of our money, and to do it no longer to meet any discernible, much less rationally-defensible, needs but only in response to a manic imperative to spend as much as we can as fast as we can. Every extra dime spent is seen as progress *just because it is more*, every slowing in increased spending is portrayed as a step backward, and anyone betraying a hint of doubt about the wisdom of it all is reflexively denounced as morally reprobate if not actually imbecilic.



Friedrich A. Hayek

Friedrich A. Hayek witnessed the growth of the Nazi, Italian Fascist, and Soviet tyrannies. In his book, here excerpted, he explained in devastating detail how a corrupt idea — that tyrannical control of men was both more pragmatically productive and morally compassionate than freedom — produced the totalitarian horrors of World War II and Stalin's slave-state. His book, a smashing success on both sides of the Atlantic, was a crucial contribution to the post-war debate over Europe's future while helping launch the post-war conservative intellectual renaissance for freedom that eventually flowered in the elections of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher with mandates to lead their respective countries away from the socialist brink and, in time, to the final downfall of the Soviet Empire. This excerpt is taken from a new Foreward Hayek wrote for a 1955 re-printing (for publication in the United States) of *The Road to Serfdom*. It analyzes the applicability of the book's lessons originally gleaned by consideration of what he called "hot socialism" — the by-then already dying

*The Road to Serfdom *was originally published in 1944. We here excerpt from the Foreward to the 1955 U.S. edition.*

Vienna-born Freidrich A. Hayek (1899-1992) was a Nobel Prize-winning, internationally influential economic theorist. Author of several books, he was a professor at the Universities of London and Chicago.

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or dead enthusiasm for all-encompasing state controls over national economies as adopted by Hitler and Stalin and championed in the west by the English Fabians — to the residual socialist ideas at work in a far less strident and systematic mode (the "Welfare State") in the post-war United States and western Europe. We reprint here extensively from this Forward because it throws considerable light on the current phenomenon of Sacramento budget brinkmanship, a process driven by no clear plan advancing toward no clear goals, but simply driven. The moral implications for Californians of risking the freedom of our children and grandchildren on such an unthoughtful course far outweighs in importance the question of how long we can keep spending as we have been before going broke.

— John Kurzweil

I recognize that the hot socialism against which it *[The Road to Serfdom]* was mainly directed — that organized movement toward a deliberate organization of economic life by the state as the chief owner of the means of production — is nearly dead in the Western world. The century of socialism in this sense probably came to an end around 1948. Many of its illusions have been discarded even by its leaders, and elsewhere as well as in the United States the very name has lost much of its attraction ....

Yet though hot socialism is probably a thing of the past, some of its conceptions have penetrated far too deeply into the whole structure of current thought to justify complacency. If few people in the Western world now want to remake society from the bottom according to some ideal blueprint, a great many still believe in measures which, though not designed completely to remodel the economy, in their aggregate effect may well unintentionally produce this result. And, even more than at the time when I wrote this book, the advocacy of policies which in the long run cannot be reconciled with the preservation of a free society is no longer a party matter. That hodgepodge of ill-assembled and often inconsistent ideals which under the name of the Welfare State has largely replaced socialism as the goal of the reformers needs very careful sorting-out if its results are not to be very similar to those of full-fledged socialism. This is not to say that some of its aims are not both practicable and laudable. But there are many ways in which we can work toward the same goal, and in the present state of opinion there is some danger that our impatience for quick results may lead us to choose instruments which, though perhaps more efficient for achieving the particular ends, are not compatible with the preservation of a free society. The increasing tendency to rely on administrative coercion and discrimination where a modification of the general rules of law might, perhaps more slowly, achieve the same object, and to resort to direct state controls or to the creation of monopolistic institutions where judicious use of financial inducements might evoke spontaneous efforts, is still a powerful legacy of the socialist period which is likely to influence policy for a long time to come.

Just because in the years ahead of us political ideology is not likely to aim at a clearly defined goal but toward piecemeal change, a full understanding of the process through which certain kinds of measures can destroy the bases of an economy based on the market and gradually smother the creative powers of a free civilization seems now of the greatest importance. Only if we understand why and how certain kinds of economic controls tend to paralyze the driving forces of a free society, and which kinds of measures are particularly dangerous in this respect, can we hope that social experimentation will not lead us into situations none of us want ....

Of course, six years of socialist government in England [under Prime Minister Clement Atlee, from 1945 until 1951, when Winston Churchill was again elected prime minister] have not produced anything resembling a totalitarian state. But those who argue that this has disproved the thesis of *The Road to Serfdom* have really missed one of its main points: that the most important change which extensive government control produces is a psychological change, an alteration in the character of the people. This is necessarily a slow affair, a process which extends not over a few years but perhaps over one or two generations. The important point is that the political ideals of a people and its attitude toward authority are as much the effect as the cause of the political institutions under which it lives. This means, among other things, that even a strong tradition of political liberty is no safeguard if the danger is precisely that new institutions and policies will gradually undermine and destroy that spirit. The consequences can of course be averted if that spirit reasserts itself in time and the people not only throw out the party which has been leading them further and further in the dangerous direction but also recognizes the nature of the danger and resolutely change their course. There is not yet much ground to believe that the latter has happened in England.

Yet the change undergone by the character of the

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British people, not merely under its Labour government but in the course of the much longer period during which it has been enjoying the blessings of a paternalistic welfare state, can hardly be mistaken. These changes are not easily demonstrated but are clearly felt if one lives in the country. In illustration, I will cite a few significant passages from a sociological survey dealing with the impact of the surfeit of regulation on the mental attitudes of the young. It is concerned with the situation before the Labour government came into power, in fact, about the time this book was first published, and deals mainly with the effects of those wartime regulations which the Labour government made permanent:

> It is above all in the city that the province of the optional is felt as dwindling away to nothing. At school, in the place of work, on the journey to and fro, even in the very equipment and provisioning of the home, many of the activities normally possible to human beings are either forbidden or enjoined. Special agencies, called Citizen's Advice Bureaus, are set up to steer the bewildered through the forest of rules, and to indicate to the persistent the rare clearings where a private person may still make a choice .... [The town lad] is conditioned not to lift a finger without referring mentally to the book of words first .... Surveying his parents and older brothers or sisters he finds them as regulation-bound as himself. He sees them so acclimatized to that state that they seldom plan and carry out under their own steam any new social excursion or enterprise. He thus looks forward to no future period at which a sinewy faculty of responsibility is likely to be of service to himself or others .... (from *Youth Service in an English County: A Report Prepared for King George's Jubilee Trust*, L.J. Barnes, London, 1945)

Is it too pessimistic to fear that a generation grown up under these conditions is unlikely to throw off the fetters to which it has grown used? Or does this description not rather fully bear out De Tocqueville's prediction of the "new kind of servitude" when

> after having thus successively taken each member of the community in its powerful grasp, and fashioned him at will, the supreme power then extends its arm over the whole community. It covers the surface of society with a network of small complicated rules, minute and uniform, through which the most original minds and the most energetic characters cannot penetrate to rise above the crowd. The will of man is not shattered but softened, bent and guided; men are seldom forced by it to act, but they are constantly restrained from acting. Such a power does not destroy, but it prevents existence; it does not tyrannize, but it compresses, enervates, extinguishes, and stupefies a people, till each nation is reduced to be nothing better than a flock of timid and industrial animals, of which government is the shepherd. — I have always thought that servitude of the regular, quiet, and gentle kind which I have just described might be combined more easily than is commonly believed with some of the outward forms of freedom and that it might even establish itself under the wing of the sovereignty of the people.
>
> (*From* Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Part II, Book IV, chap. vi. — The whole chapter should be read in order to realize with what acute insight De Tocqueville was able to foresee the psychological effects of the modren welfare state. It was, incidentally, De Tocqueville's frequent reference to the "new servitude" which suggested the title of the present book.)

.... The most serious development is the growth of a measure of arbitrary administrative coercion and the progressive destruction of the cherished foundation of British liberty, the Rule of Law, for exactly the reasons here discussed in chapter vi. This process had of course started long before the last Labour government came into power and had been accentuated by the war. But the attempts at economic planning under the Labour government carried it to a point which makes it doubtful whether it can be said that the Rule of Law still prevails in Britain. The "new Despotism" of which a Lord Chief Justice had warned Britain as long as 25 years ago is, as *The Economist* recently observed, no longer a mere danger but an established fact. It is a despotism exercised by a thoroughly conscientious and honest bureaucracy for what they sincerely believe is the good of the country. But it is nevertheless an arbitrary government, in practice free from effective parliamentary control; and its machinery would be as effective for any other than the beneficent purposes for which it is now used ....

It seems now unlikely that, even when another Labour government should come into power in Great Britain, it would resume the experiments in large-scale nationalization and planning. But in Britain, as elsewhere in the world, the defeat of the onslaught of systematic socialism has merely given those who are anxious to preserve freedom a breathing space in which to re-examine our ambitions and to discard all those parts of the socialist inheritance which are a danger to a free society. Without such a revised conception of our social aims, we are likely to continue to drift in the same direction in which outright socialism would merely have carried us a little faster. CPR

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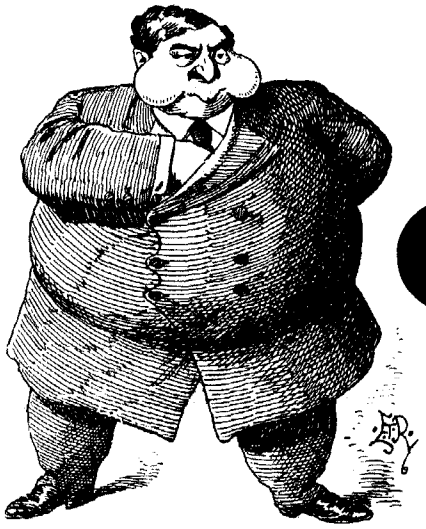

Big Government

The moral implications of spending money for no better reason than that it is there.

by Ray Haynes

The most effective way of making people accept the validity of the values they are to serve [in a totalitarian system] is to persuade them that they are really the same as those which they, or at least the best among them, have always held, but which were not properly understood or recognized before .... And the most efficient technique to this end is to use the old words but change their meaning. Few traits of totalitarian regimes are at the same time so confusing to the superficial observer and yet so characteristic of the whole intellectual climate as the complete perversion of language, the change of meaning of the words by which the ideals of the new regime are expressed.

— Freidrich A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*

Tonight we passed a responsible and balanced budget that is also compassionate ....

— Assembly Speaker Fabian Nuñez

Let's try to translate into standard English words conveying standard English meanings what Speaker Nuñez might have been thinking as he spoke the words quoted above. I will use as my guide the actual budget California's Legislature passed for the new year and the meanings routinely attached to words by state Capitol ruling elites when expressing their "ideals." "Tonight," we can readily imagine the Speaker thinking, "our vote for this budget helps bolster this body's image as being *responsible* with voters whose comfort zone is soothed by the idea of an on-time budget and who don't know, or much care to know, what it actually contains.

"In addition, we have achieved *balance* in that the various parties in the Capitol power structure each can point to budget aspects they favored, and everybody also had to give a little, commensurate with the level of power they hold. Finally, we are spending *more* than ever, hiking the rate of spending increases *faster* than ever, and buying *more* support from *growing* numbers of contented recipients of government spending for *all* the politicians who can claim credit for this or that slab of pork in this budget — what, I ask you, could be more pleasing, more generous, more *compassionate* than that?"

Is this translation unfair to the Speaker? Given the contents of the budget, it would be less charitable to interpret his words literally, which would indicate either lunacy, gross ignorance of the document he is talking about, or simply that he is a shameless

Ray Haynes represents California's 66th Assembly District.

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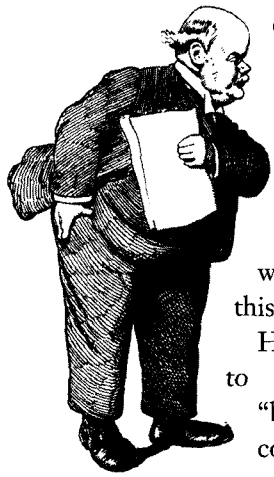
liar. Starting with Nuñez's middle contention — that the budget is "balanced" — it is clear he is not using normal words in a normal way. As state Senator Tom McClintock pointed out: " ... we're running the biggest deficit in California's history. Let's review the numbers.



"Income: $94.4 billion

"Spending: $101.3 billion

"Deficit: $6.9 billion."

Can the Speaker possibly know what he is talking about and still think this budget "balanced"?

How about "responsible"? To return to Sen. McClintock's remarks, this "biggest deficit in California's history" comes "despite a 23 percent increase in revenues in the last three years .... We've taken in an extra $7 billion of new revenues that nobody dreamed of. But the Legislature's budget spends all of that new revenue and then nearly $7 billion more for a three-year spending increase of 29 percent ....

"Lest we forget: the budget crisis of 2000 was triggered by a revenue decline of just seven-tenths of one percent. Given the debt load and the deficit we are *now* carrying, the same decline next year would leave us billions of dollars short .... where's the money [for the $7 billion in new deficit spending] coming from? The good news is that we're carrying over about $9 billion from the prior year. And that's a good thing too – except the only reason we have that in the bank is because we borrowed $9 billion through Prop. 57. So, in a very real sense, our state is a family that went on a spending binge a few years ago and suddenly got laid off. We ran up about $9 billion of credit card charges. Today, we're enjoying a better job and a nice bonus, and as we look forward to next year, we've got a comfortable income and roughly $9 billion in the bank. But we also have a credit card statement of about $9 billion.

"Question: shouldn't our family use that money sitting in the bank right now to pay off the credit card bill before we start in on another spending binge?" Why no!, that is, if you understand what Fabian Nuñez means by "responsible."

Finally, there's "compassion," and a final reference to Mr. McClintock's remarks:

"... after a 29 percent increase in spending, are we to see a 29 percent increase in highway capacity? Or a 29 percent increase in education quality? Or a 29 percent increase in anything the government is supposed to be doing?" Again, no, emphatically no, as anyone is certainly aware if they are versed in the Speaker's standard perversion of language, entirely characteristic of the whole intellectual climate of the Democrat-dominated Capitol.

Although by profession an economist, Friedrich Hayek, in his landmark 1944 book quoted above, wrote mostly about the moral despoilation of societies wrought by socialism's grand crusade to reduce all human goals to one: the unification of every person into a utopia-producing machine, smoothly and efficiently implementing each successive plan that the power at the top hands down. It's all done ostensibly to serve the humanistic goods that free societies champion — societies that socialism effectively destroys while diminishing those very same humanistic goods, along with our freedom.

A most striking element of today's California budget coverage, discussion, and debate is what is *not* included, conspicuous by its absence: consideration of the moral implications — those Hayek so compellingly sketched out — of the new budget's premise (and that of every budget any longer produced by the Sacramento ruling elite). That is, that the sole business of government is to grow, grow, grow, without reference to what the growth is producing or what it is costing us. If more money appears, the sole imperative is to spend it, and it is little matter for what; more government is reason enough.

Pete Wilson's last budget (1998-99) spent $57.8 billion, a total that soared to $79.8 billion in 2004-05, to $90 billion last year, and to $101.3 billion today: a staggering $43.5 billion increase — more than 75 percent — in less than 10 years. Yet this vast expansion of state power occasions virtually no questioning of its moral wisdom, only concerns about its practical viability: can we sustain it? The *Sacramento Bee's* June 28 story on passage of the budget began: "Lawmakers late Tuesday approved a $131 billion state budget that will use an un-

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An Opening for Common Sense

"The beginning of political wisdom is the recognition that liberalism is at the end of its intellectual tether."
— Irving Kristol

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expected spike in tax revenues to pay down debt, pump billions of new dollars into schools, and increase funds for social programs such as welfare and foster care. Due to a booming economy, the state has almost $8 billion more to spend next year than state fiscal experts originally projected. That helped make budget negotiations this year far less rancorous than during the fiscal crisis of recent years."

And *Los Angeles Times* liberal columnist George Skelton ("Budget Dance Avoids Missteps of Past") assumed a similar tone June 29: "Perhaps the primary credit for a rare on-time budget goes to the economy, which generated a windfall $7.5 billion in unexpected tax revenue. Legislators didn't have to fight over whether to raise taxes, cut programs, or keep borrowing." How nice for them. Most coverage I read noted that long-term deficit concerns remain unaddressed, but, again, even among conservatives the more fundamental question of the wisdom of Big Government *per se* — the thing Bill Clinton told us a decade or so ago was dead — was scarcely raised.

It should be raised. For anyone unable to imagine why, a good start would be to locate a copy of *The Road to Serfdom* and read, or re-read, it. Those familiar with "the whole intellectual climate" and "the complete perversion of language" characterizing the Capitol budget culture will recognize many familiar elements as they read about the moral disintegration Hayek (in 1944) identified and explained as having accompanied the socialist idea — not only in the Prussian authoritarianism that finally blossomed into the Nazi terror, but also in Soviet communism and even, although lagging considerably behind in development, in English Fabian socialism: in socialism itself, that is, not in a particular nation or national character or in bad administrators or any other scapegoat for an idea corrupt and corrupting itself, at its core.

Republicans are by no means immune to the corrupting influences of too much power, as shown by the stiff resistance to ending or even much curbing pork barrel spending in the GOP Congress despite a national outcry against it. The truth of Lord Acton's famous warning about power corruption is virtually personified in the House Appropriations Committee's reaction to the rising conservative critique of massive spending by an ostensibly Republican Congress: what impertinence! they seem to say. This is our Committee, our budget, we have earned the right to make these decisions, to pass out these plums and enjoy these perks, through all our years of hard work slaving in the public service, so be good enough to remember your place and be quiet. Alaska Republican Senator Ted Stevens topped just about everyone in these Marie Antoinette follies with his threat to resign from the Senate if funding was denied his nationally embarrassing boondoggle, the Bridge to

Alaska Republican Senator Ted Stevens topped just about everyone in these Marie Antoinette follies with his threat to resign from the Senate if funding was denied his nationally embarrassing boondoggle.

Nowhere. *His* honor was insulted, not the people's. Like an *aristo* of the *ancien régime* uncomprehendingly mounting the guillotine scaffold, the poor fellow simply could not see the pathetic absurdity of his position.

This is the real danger of letting government grow unimpeded except by the economy's capacity to sustain it. It warps political leaders' moral sensibilities, breaking them loose from their moorings. Worse, if it goes on long enough, it eventually warps the people's sensibilities as well. The rise of the immigration issue has occasioned much discussion about acculturation, about how long it takes for the American melting pot to work its magic. And what magic is that? When immigrants come from unfree, command-and-control societies, they arrive with a lot of fear to unlearn and self-confidence to gain. The opportunities freedom offers are not immediately apparent and inexperienced people have a difficult time making use of them. A degree of faith in the system must be developed: faith that it will be fair; that hard work, risk taking, and a willingness to try again after a failure

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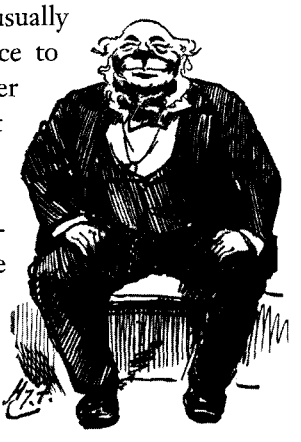
— that it all will not, once the rewards finally appear, merely end with those rewards being stolen by the strong and privileged. Only when that faith grows firm and experience gains for people the skills needed to succeed can a nation achieve the vast, uplifting productivity that seems so miraculous to those unversed in the explosive dynamism of free minds and free people

Freedom's material blessings do not rely on particular national traits; anyone can learn to produce them given the freedom to do so, which is why immigrants can and do come from anywhere and become Americans. The common thread is freedom, the common teacher and inspiration. Big government teaches the opposite lessons, both to politicians and to the people. That much is obvious from even a moment's consideration of the Rube Goldberg labyrinth that the Democrat left has constructed in California consisting of regulations, tax laws, special favors, and politically- and ideologically-inspired mechanisms for directing and redirecting the people's productive output to serve not the choices of those who created the wealth but the narrow interests of the relative few with access to power. Over time, the system breeds not a spirit of innovation, risk-taking, self-confidence, and creative drive, but one of fear at losing power, losing subsidies, losing perks. The language is corrupted. We talk of "entitlements," for instance, to avoid the annoying truth that men schooled in freedom are scandalized to think they must rely on other people's handouts.

The overall degeneration is apparent in the Congress's silly waste of tax dollars, in the Coastal Commission's near manic indulgence in petty tyrannies over helpless property owners, and it is apparent in the newspeak nonsense about "responsible and balanced" budgets that are "also compassionate" used to describe budgets that are none of the above.

Big government establishes an intellectual climate, with a powerful incentive structure to back it up, that pushes those in power incessantly toward blindness about the vast wastefulness and gross immorality of what they do. All the incentives influencing them favor centralizing and increasing government power. California budget discussions consist mostly of Democrats asking for more spending on education and welfare while Republicans ask for more for law enforcement and road construction. The compromise is usually to spend more on both. The two-thirds vote requirement to pass a budget usually forces Democrats to pay lip service to GOP budget priorities, but it never works to restrain government growth.



How could it? All politicians benefit from fatter, more centralized government. They rely on the granting and withholding of government benefits and the power of the state to intrude on peoples' lives to make themselves important. No matter who is in charge, they really have little else they can so use, which is why most people avoid contact with the government. Is anyone happy to see a tax collector or a traffic cop? If government couldn't stick its nose into the peoples' business, the people would avoid it like the plague.

So in this year's budget the state is spending every dime it takes in and then some. I again emphasize that this result comes not only from the ideological beliefs in its favor held by liberals elected to office. It also, perhaps even more so, results from a thousand and one deleterious influences launched into motion whenever anything government begins — influences magnified seemingly geometrically as government grows larger. For instance, it wasn't all that long ago, let us recall, that a new governor charged into the state Capitol declaring his intent to bring spending under control, and resolve the California deficit — a $34.6 billion general fund deficit, with state spending creating a $13 billion debt. Indeed, the 2003-04 general fund budget had a $10 billion operating deficit, one that was projected to return to the 04-05 budget. The governor resolved that operating deficit in the 03-04 budget by passing a bond, then adopted by voters as Proposition 57 in March 2004. That accounts for the $9 billion debt Senator McClintock spoke of in the material I quoted near the beginning of this article.

The new governor did fairly well, at least in restraining spending, a considerable achievement

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coming on the heels of the Gray Davis spending spree of 1999-2001. As I mentioned above (but don't mind pointing out again) Davis hiked spending from the $57.8 billion of Pete Wilson's last budget to $78.05 billion. As state revenue increased in the last half of the 1990s from $42 billion in 1994-95 to $71 billion in 1999-2000, legislative Democrats fought to grow California government as fast as the money came in. Pete Wilson, in his last three years in office, secured at least a portion of the windfall in tax cuts, ending with his record $4.5 billion car tax cut (a cut I had a small hand in winning). But Gray Davis said no to any tax cuts, indulging the government employee unions' every desire, growing government at a record pace, ultimately leading to the biggest budget crisis in the state's history.

That's when reality reasserted itself. Between July 1, 2001, and June 30, 2005, spending increased a total of $1.8 billion, from $78.05 billion to $79.8 billion. This long-overdue restraint occurred in a context not only of a very real threat of state bankruptcy but eventually the first-in-state-history ouster of a sitting governor accompanied by a tidal wave of public demand for injecting some reason back into state government.

The question is: did the political upheaval, fiscal crisis, change in governors and in the Party controlling the governor's office, and public outrage underpinning it all really work a lasting change? Well, what answer is possible but no, considering that after four years in which spending remained essentially flat, state government, which finished the 04-05 fiscal year having spent $79.8 billion, just approved a plan (a mere 12 months later) to spend $102 billion — a dizzying $22 billion increase for no significant reason other than that the money was there.

The moral is that against big government's insatiable appetite and the corrosive amorality affecting virtually everyone, Republican or Democrat, sooner or later, reason, moderation, any kind of restraint stand no chance. Once start down the road of "using government," even as only one among many implements to "solve society's problems," and the narcotic of power quickly shoulders aside all competing considerations. The one Ring of Power in J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Lord of the Rings* is a metaphor for all political power. It will ultimately destroy anyone who seizes it for any purpose other than to bottle it up, the primary objective of our nation's founding fathers. America's government was built on the principle that government is dangerous, that rulers must be restrained by law, by checks and balances, by elections, by free debate, and all the other controls on power available to a free society that wants to remain free. The spectacle that is Sacramento, especially during budget season, is of a people who've lost their grip on the founding American principle. They have rediscovered the road to serfdom. This is a threat dwarfing all the concerns — important as they are in themselves — about whether or not a given level of spending can be sustained. CPR

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Using Illegals

Reaportionment counts people, not citizens

Senator H. L. 'Bill' Richardson [ret.]

THE DEMOCRAT LEFT-WING leadership will never support any kind of effective immigration policy, and for a very pragmatic reason. To do so would cut their own political throats. They will, however, enthusiastically support a bad bill that grants amnesty. They benefit politically from the flood of illegals, not only from the possibility that they may someday register to vote as Democrats, but also from *the impact they have on the census.*

The Democrats' dirty little secret is knowing how to use illegals, although not registered to vote, to help them elect a disproportionate number of left-wing Democrats to office. Few know that reapportionment* of legislative districts is based on census data — body count — not registered voters. Law requires the same number of people (men, women, children, and babies) living within boundaries of each district. If it is a state near Mexico, it inevitably has a large body of illegals who are counted in the census and comprise a sizable segment of the Spanish-speaking population.

Opportunity for activists

The Mexican-American population eligible to vote tends to register mostly as Democrats, with only a small percentage choosing to be Republicans. Illegals, out of necessity and for cover, gravitate to population centers where they can mingle with those who speak their own language. Therefore they enlarge the ranks of the Mex-

* *Reapportionment* follows each 10-year census of the entire nation. It is Congress's reallotment among the 50 states (to reflect shifting population) of the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. *Redistricting* is the redrawing of the individual district boundary lines, both for House seats and for state legislative seats. In California (and 43 other states), redistricting is done by the Legislature, with lawmakers selecting the voters they will represent by drawing their own district lines. — *editor*

Senator H. L. Richardson [ret.] contributes frequently to California Political Review.

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ican-American population. Like black Americans, a high percentage of Mexican-Americans do not register to vote, creating an opportunity for a small body of left-wing activists within the Mexican community to run for office (usually helped financially by affluent left–wing groups that live outside the district).

AS AN EXAMPLE: imagine border state X with a census count of two million people, of which 20 percent (400,000) are illegals. According to law, each state Senate district in state X should have 100,000 people living in it. Out of the population of two million (including illegals), one million of those legally *eligible* to vote actually *register* to vote, half of them Democrats and half Republicans.

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One could then assume that in a normal election all the seats would be competitive with either party having a chance to win control of the Legislature. However, look what could happen if liberal Democrats are in control of the committee responsible for redistricting state X. Using just three districts as an example, see what can happen with an abundance of illegals.

	Population	[D]	[R]	Illegals & unregistered citizens
Dist. 1	100,000	20,000	5,000	75,000
Dist. 2.	100,000	30,000	10,000	60,000
Dist. 3.	100,000	10,000	45,000	45,000
	300,000	60,000	60,000	180,000

Safe Democrat seats

The Democrat redistricting committee's careful maneuvering of district lines accomplishes the following: By combining the large number of illegals and unregistered Americans, they use a relatively small number of registered Democrats and a much smaller group of registered Republicans to create a sizable majority of safe Democrat seats. As required by law, they adjust all the state Senate district lines to include 100,000 people. To create that majority of safe Democrat seats, they must cram as many registered Republicans as they can in as few districts as possible. They do this in secret and without knowledge or input from Republicans or the public. And they don't care if a few Republicans are elected as long as they aren't the majority and as long as they don't influence the Legislature. By creating a few fat, safe Republican districts, it's easy pickings to find a few moderate Republicans who will vote with them if given one of the safe Republican seats. This kind of gerrymandering makes a mockery of the elective process.

Twelve million illegals

The nation has an estimated 12 million illegals within our boundaries. With porous borders, the numbers grow year by year. By the 2010 census, this population will have increased by millions more. Illegals therefore play a definite role in who is and who isn't elected, especially in states that border Mexico. California's population accounts for close to one out of every eight Americans. California illegals number in the millions. Directly, although unknowingly, they play a dominant role in how this state is governed — without one of them ever registering to vote. This is just one more reason why illegal entry in the country must be stopped. People wonder how California can elect a Ronald Reagan and still have a Democrat-controlled Senate and Assembly. It *can* because liberal Democrats have controlled California redistricting for the past 50 years. Californians, when given a chance, are more conservative than people believe.

I CAN GUARANTEE FEW Americans have a glimmer of understanding about how they are being used and cheated out of a fair elective process. One reason I can guarantee it is that — believe it or not — many elected *legislators* haven't a clue about how redistricting operates either. Redistricting should never be left in the hands of a left-wing Legislature.

We would have a better chance of fairness by turning the drawing of district lines over to a collection of mental patients, skid-row derelicts, and pot-heads than leaving it where it now resides. CPR

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Diogenous quest

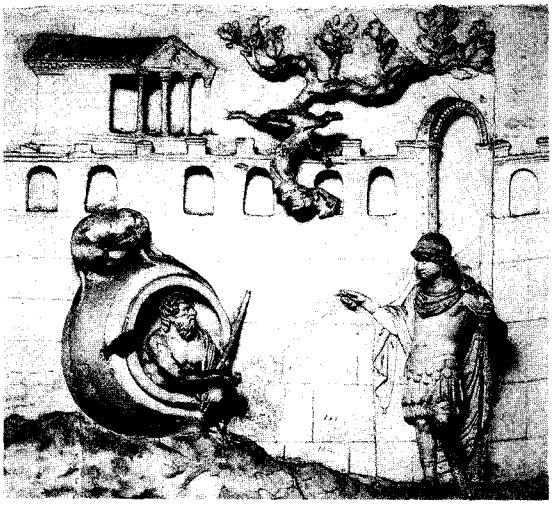
Looking for a moderate Democrat

William E. Saracino

In several respects, the June Primary defied the conventional wisdom that super-low-turnouts — and 28 percent certainly qualifies as that — translates into an electorate dominated by both parties' base voters: conservatives overrepresented in the GOP primary; liberals in the Democrat. The "CW" seems to have been correct about Phil Angelides, the darling of the hard-core, quite left of center Democrat voter. Most observers expect that had statewide turnout been 35 instead of 28 percent, Westly would have won. On the GOP side, turnout undoubtedly helped former Assemblyman Tony Strickland win his narrow victory over the better financed, much less conservative state Senator Abel Maldonado.

Yet had the "CW" held form, you would expect the less rabidly liberal candidates favored by business to have been clobbered in Democrat legislative primaries. They were not. In fact, given the woeful lack of success business has had in past Democrat primaries, their winning almost as many as they lost in June is a noteworthy achievement.

In the same vein, the Primary's biggest puzzlement of all, given a heavily liberal Democrat turnout, was the defeat of Proposition 82. Masquerading as a tax increase on the super wealthy to help "the kids," turnout seemed tailor-made for a Prop. 82 victory. Yet the measure received a mere 39 percent of the vote, carrying only three counties (Imperial, San Francisco, and Alameda). It got clobbered even within certain regions of fever-swamp liberal-land, receiving 44 percent in Marin County and 46 percent in Santa Cruz County.



Diogenes, who looked forlornly 'for an honest man,' is visited, at his 'home,' by Alexander the Great.

I've yet to hear or read a satisfactory explanation for why that happened. Until I do, I'll stick with my own concoction, which is that Rob Reiner's combination of physical ugliness and mental vacuity is too lethal even for most liberals to abide. This

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Veteran campaign strategist William E. Saracino is a member of California Political Review's *editorial board.*

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business success in the Primary leads to an intriguing question: Should we now expect to see a new, less stridently anti-business mind-set in the state Capitol? That question must be considered in a context of the realities of Sacramento power politics and in light of the considerable history now compiled by business in trying to "moderate" the Democrat power structure in California state government.

Beginning with the second aspect first, the main point to bear in mind is that business's quest for less unfriendly Democrat state office holders has over the years acquired a marked resemblance, to put a charitable face on it, to Diogenes' fruitless search for an honest man. Big business in California has spent the better part of two decades and untold tens of millions of dollars trying to prove the existence of "moderate" Democrat state lawmakers. Their quest started as part of former Governor Pete Wilson's internecine *jihad* against conservatives in the 1982 primaries. The idea was something like: who needs these right-wing Republicans? The governor can achieve his "moderate" objectives just as well with a non-partisan majority coalition that would trounce the "extremists" of both parties. Business went along with the idea, and the anti-conservative mindset it embodied in the GOP context has continued to show itself largely unabated every two years since.

Sometimes business justifies its preference for "moderate" Democrats over conservative Republican nominees in general elections on grounds of disagreement regarding "social issues," sometimes on pragmatic, issue-by-issue concerns, sometimes on the self-fulfilling logic that since Democrats control the Legislature, business must play in the game as it is, and try simply to elect more agreeable Democrats — this instead of trying to elect Republicans who would by and large be totally agreeable to them, at least when it comes to issues that affect business.

THE BOTTOM LINE motivation — about which much more could be written, but not here at the moment — goes back to the essential "country club" vs. "grass roots" conflict that has raged in the GOP for at least 50 years. Barry Goldwater represented the first victory of the "little people" in the GOP over big business interests. Ronald Reagan cemented the trend in his primary election victory of 1966. Big business would like us all to forget that the same epithets they currently throw at conservatives — "unelectable," "extreme," "no appeal to the vital center," and so on, were all used, also by business, against Reagan 40 years ago. The battle rages on.

California mega-businesses, represented in Sacramento mainly by the California Chamber of Commerce, the Business Roundtable, and the California Manufacturers and Technology Association, anted up again this primary season, hoping to promote some "moderate" Assembly Democrats to the state Senate, as well as replenish the moderate donkey ranks in the Assembly.

The results were mixed. Using the "half empty or half full" comparison method, you could say without hyperbole that electing to the Legislature any Democrat not an out-and-out socialist represents progress and a move to the right. That was certainly accomplished in June, so the glass could be half full. On the other hand, if you look at the full range of Democrat primary campaigns business invested in, they lost a few more than they won. Moderate Democrats, if indeed that animal exists in a functioning sense when push comes to shove in the legislative chambers, are still a tiny minority in their caucuses.

The most interesting battles were in state Senate primaries. This is where business did succeed in nominating their favored candidates, so let's focus there. Business supported Democrats Lou Correa, Ron Calderon, and Alex Padilla, and all won. Given gerrymandering, all will likely be sworn into the upper chamber this November, Correa alone finding himself running in a non-safe Democrat district.

A couple of these races also had interesting sub-plots. Former Assemblyman and current Orange County Supervisor Lou Correa thumped former Assemblyman Tom Umberg in a central Orange County District. Umberg is a sock-puppet for trial attorneys, and as such had access to their deep pockets. Senate President protem Don Parata, however, thought Correa had a better chance of keeping the District Democrat this November by appealing to its large Vietnamese population, so Correa received the leader's heavy support. Having run campaigns against Umberg in the past, I can personally testify that the gentleman rates just below pond scum when it comes to ethics.

This district, currently held by Democrat Joe Dunn but previously held by Republican Rob Hurtt, is very much in play for both parties come November. However, if its destiny is to be represented by a Democrat, "Anyone But Umberg" was the proper line to follow in the Primary, so business got this one right.

And, in fact, all of their picks may have been "right," if "right" is defined as their candidate being objectively more business friendly than his opponent(s). Their record in Democrat primaries for the Assembly is about the same as for the Senate: roughly 50-50. For the mo-

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ment let's assume that being business-friendly means the same thing as being conservative. I've no doubt that the business-blessed candidates would, all things being equal, vote the "right" way on business issues in the Legislature.

BUT "ALL THINGS" are never "equal" in the Legislature, especially on close votes. In the 40-member Senate for example, it is easy to vote the "right" way on bills that receive 30 votes or 10 votes. No one senator is then the "deciding" vote, so nobody gives them heat or grief. The test of character comes on bills whose fate hangs in the balance by one or two votes. The bottom line question for business is this: When the Senate roll call on a pro-business bill hits 19 to 19, and that bill is opposed by the usual Democrat Party special interests: the prison guards, state employees, teachers, whiners, and societal parasites of all descriptions, which way will Mssrs. Correa, Calderon, and Padilla vote then?

If they can summon the courage to cast the difficult pro-business vote, then the hoopla surrounding their victories will be justified. But if they wilt under pressure, they will be like so many other "moderate" Democrats of the past, mere window dressing for business PACS to show off at their annual "Day in Sacramento" fests.

There was a time in relatively recent memory when a hearty band of truly moderate Democrats did exist, and did hold the balance of power. After the 1986 elections (full disclosure here — I was chief of staff for the Assembly Republican Caucus at the time), the partisan balance in the Assembly was 44 Democrats to 36 Republicans. Willie Brown, the self-proclaimed "Ayatollah of the Assembly" ruled with an iron fist, assisted by his designated thug, Rules Committee Chairman Lou Pappan.

But all was not sweetness and light in the Democrat caucus. Five genuinely moderate Democrats had banded together and had come to be known as the "Gang of 5." They cooperated with Governor George Deukmejian and legislative Republicans on an issue-by-issue basis. Working with a united GOP Caucus, the "Gang" was effective in killing particularly egregious liberal legislation, and passing a panoply of conservative, even sometimes pro-business bills Deukmejian was only too happy to sign. These moderate Democrats enjoyed an unusual measure of leverage because Rose "Let every murderer off" Bird had recently been booted from the state Supreme Court, and the Gang primarily bucked the legislative liberal establishment by favoring tough law and order measures, with the public, including a large segment of Democrat voters, behind them.

Ayatollah Brown was so incensed he threw the unwritten rule book out the window and openly supported opponents to several of the "gang" members in the 1988 primaries. But all Brown's challenges failed, and the gang was set to return intact to the Capitol in November. They had decided, however, that since the Ayatollah had disposed of the rule book they were not bound by it either, and — because they knew the Speaker was both eager and quite able to create unlivable conditions for them in Sacramento unless the situation changed radically — that they would join the 36 Assembly Republicans to elect GOP leader Pat Nolan as Speaker. That was real *chutspah*.

The deal was done, the handshakes were made, the 41 votes set in stone, and the date for the coup was set. Fate, however, had different plans. The night before the vote was to be taken, Orange County Assemblyman Richard Longshore died of emphysema. Had the Grim Reaper not intervened, Pat Nolan, in 1988, would have become the first Republican Assembly Speaker since 1970, seven years before Curt Pringle actually accomplished the feat.

The point? The Gang of Five earned their "moderate Democrat" status the hard way: doing what was right on close legislative votes and even overthrowing the Brown dictatorship. The test of the current crop of moderate Democrats is unlikely to involve anything so dramatic as a change not only of Speakers, but of the partisan leadership of the Legislature's lower house.

But virtually every week, either in committee hearings or floor sessions, bills will appear that are supported or opposed by the full Democrat power structure, with business interests on the opposing side. What will these "moderate" Democrats do then?

ONLY TIME WILL TELL, but put me down as a skeptic. Given a choice between angering big business or, say, the prison guards or teachers unions, it would take an exceptional Democrat to side with business. And these prospective rebels have no pro-business flood tide of public opinion to fall back on corresponding to the law and order mood that bouyed the Gang of 5.

The Chamber, Roundtable, and Manufacturers think they have found a crop of exceptional candidates. Though it will be well into next year before we really can make a judgment, we will eventually know the true mettle of these "moderate" Democrats. Until proven wrong, I shall remain unconvinced, and resume my search for an honest man.

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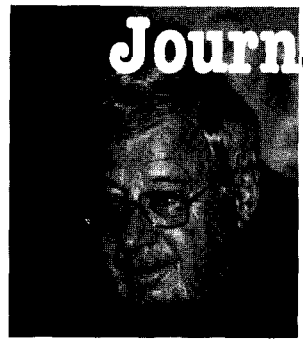
Si Frumkin's Journal



The Cooling! The Warming!! The Poison Ivy!!!

If you are younger than 50 or so you probably don't remember the horrible danger that our planet was in about 35 years ago: Global Cooling. It was just as threatening and certain as the Global Warming is today. The scientific data were all there — the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colorado, predicted a return to the ice age due to man-made atmospheric pollution blocking the sun.

This dire prediction was immediately picked up by prestigious publications: *Science* magazine (December 10, 1976) warned of "extensive Northern Hemisphere glaciation"; *Science Digest* (February 1973) reported that "the world's climatologists are agreed that we must prepare for the next ice age"; *The Christian Science Monitor* (August 27, 1974) printed that glaciers "have begun to advance," "growing seasons in England and Scandinavia are getting shorter," and "the North Atlantic is cooling down about as fast as an ocean can cool." *Newsweek* (April 28, 1975) agreed that meteorologists "are almost unanimous" that catastrophic famines might result from the global cooling. *The New York Times* (September 14 and May 21, 1975) confirmed the return of another ice age and an inevitable major cooling of the climate: "... it was well established that the Northern Hemisphere's climate has been getting cooler since about 1950."

And then, nothing happened. The Global Cooling scare went away, replaced by another scare: the apocalyptic, terrifying, and inevitable Global Warming.

Si Frumkin is publisher and editor of Graffiti for Intellectuals.

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This time, man-made CO_2 is the culprit. Unless it is immediately reduced, it will create the Greenhouse Effect resulting in warmer temperatures, melting ice packs and glaciers, catastrophically rising sea levels, and the termination of life on Earth.

There is just one thing wrong with this scenario. I will place special emphasis on these words so you don't miss them:

Total human contribution to greenhouse gases accounts for only about 0.28 percent of the "greenhouse effect." Man-made carbon dioxide (CO_2) comprises about 0.117 percent of the total, and man-made sources of other gases (methane, nitrous oxide, other gases) contributes another 0.163 percent.

Of the 186 billion tons of CO_2 that enter earth's atmosphere each year, only 6 billion tons come from human activity. Approximately 90 billion tons come from biologic activity in the oceans and another 90 billion tons from volcanoes and decaying land plants

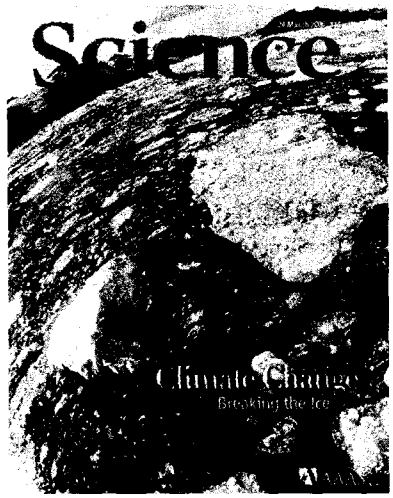
Approximately 99.72 percent of the "greenhouse effect" is due to natural causes — mostly water vapor and traces of other gases which we can do nothing about. Eliminating all human activity would have minimal impact on climate change.

CO_2 is odorless, colorless, and tasteless. Plants breathe CO_2 and emit oxygen. CO_2 is a nutrient, not a pollutant, and all life — plants and animals — benefit from it.

So is there Global Warming? Yes, there is and we are in the middle of it. It started about 18,000 years ago when most of the earth's surface was frozen. Over the last 15,000 years Global Warming has changed our world from an icebox to a garden. The cycles in our planet's temperature are well known and understood: there are the 100,000-, 41,000- and 21,000-year cycles that are caused by the slight wobble of Earth's orbit around the Sun. The shorter cycles — 206 and 11 years — are caused by periodic sunspot activity.

Earth's climate was in a warming period from about 1000 to 1350 when it started cooling again. This "Little Ice Age" lasted until about 1860 and is likely responsible for the Irish Potato Famine and the demise of medieval Viking colonies in Greenland.

The Poison Ivy study is one of the more absurd examples of Global Warming scare tactics. I heard about it on National Public Radio and read an *Associated Press* report that was picked up by many publications. The five-year study involved growing poison ivy in a CO_2-enriched atmosphere



March 24's *Science* reported "a worrying trend of less ice, higher seas."

that was supposed to mimic post-Global Warming conditions. As a result it grew about 150 percent bigger and more poisonous than usual. This conjured a picture of yet another Global Warming danger: a planet covered by deadly poisonous plants! I can only wonder why the experimenters chose poison ivy instead of, say, corn, wheat, pineapples, or potatoes. In fact, any plant will grow better in a warm and CO_2-enriched atmosphere. We know that during the past warming cycles, growing seasons lengthened and some areas saw two or even three harvests, and an increase in food supply.

Finally, the melting glaciers and polar ice caps that will cause humanity to drown in the rising oceans. The Global Warming aficionados predict sea levels rising one to three feet in the next 100 to 150 years. These figures are disputed by many scientists who believe that the rise — if any — will be a matter of inches rather than feet. But even if the doomsayers are right and water will indeed rise three feet within the next century — well, surely this will happen gradually, so that affected populations can be safely relocated elsewhere to enjoy the warm weather and the different ocean views.

So enjoy our planet. The sky is not falling. To learn more about it in greater detail, go to Google and look for "Global Warming: a chilling perspective."

The war we are winning, unfortunately...

The war on terror is not the only war we are fighting in

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A wonderful thing happened. Jewish-Americans and Japanese-Americans became white. We stopped being a 'minority' without the benefit of affirmative action.

America. The other war we are fighting — and, unfortunately, winning — is the war on common sense. Common sense is under attack by well-meaning sincere people who insist that the naked emperor is fully dressed.

Racial profiling is just one of the more obvious examples of absurdity prevailing over common sense. I am sure that most of us have seen the funny make-believe exam listing acts of terror and asking us if middle-aged Italians, Norwegian grandmothers, or young Moslem men, committed them. The response was, of course, young Moslem men. The implication was that in security matters it is young Moslem men who should be targeted for special attention rather than Hassidic Jews or Russian ballerinas.

I am sure Jesse Jackson deeply regrets having said, in a speech on high crime rates among blacks, that when he walks at night in a deserted alley and hears heavy footsteps following him, he is relieved to see that the person behind him is white, not black. I am sure that Jackson still feels the same way but he would be reluctant to say so — he might be accused of racial profiling!

And yes, I do know that not all — or even most — young Moslems are terrorists. I also know that not all young black men are gang members and muggers, that not all mosquitoes carry malaria, that not all pit bulls are vicious, and that most cars will stop at a pedestrian crosswalk. But common sense says that I should be apprehensive when confronted by black teenagers in an alley at night, shouldn't pet strange pit bulls, should use a mosquito net in Africa, and should look both ways before crossing the street on a crosswalk. I also know that what I have said here is bound to annoy, even anger, those who oppose racial profiling as a racist subterfuge. Some may even quote Martin Luther King's dream that a person should be judged not by the color of his skin but by the content of his character. Surprise! I fully agree with Dr. King whom I admired in life and whose memory I cherish.

I was just 24-years-old when my wife and I moved to Los Angeles. She, a highly skilled secretary with experience in New York, was immediately informed that she shouldn't look for work in banks or insurance companies — they weren't hiring Jews.

The same prejudice applied to Japanese-Americans who just a few years before had come back to Southern California from American detention camps. They had lost their homes, their farms, their livelihood. They and other Asians were usually referred to as the "yellow" race, a word that is now extinct.

A strange and wonderful thing has happened since then. Jewish-Americans and Japanese-Americans have become white — we can work, live, study, and own property like everyone else. We stopped being a "minority" without the benefit of affirmative action — we are judged by the content of our character, not by the color of our skin or the slant of our eyes. We are successful and apparently success trumps minority status.

We are, however, the victims of another more insidious and equally absurd discrimination: racial profiling that goes by another name: affirmative action!

The news media have recently exposed a "deplorable" fact about the current freshman class at the University of California Los Angeles: out of 4,852 UCLA freshmen admitted, only 96 were black! Soon letters to the editor and learned editorials deplored, advised, exposed, and fumed. The situation, we were told, is regrettable, disgusting, unbearable; the number of black freshmen must be increased at all costs. Little was mentioned about the two-thirds of the freshmen class classified as non-white — that 41 percent of them are Asian-Filipino, for instance. In fact, no discrimination was practiced against minorities as a whole, only against those members of the minorities that failed the test of knowledge and ability — or, in the words of Martin Luther King, "the content of their character" — but, absurdly, should have been admitted because of their skin color.

Really? And isn't that racial profiling? Or does it work in one direction only — dark skins, Islamic garb, and strange accents are counted positively in college admissions, government contracts, and jobs, but may not be noticed by law enforcement.

Several state legislatures have recently introduced bills that would allow the use of common sense in targeting those who are most likely to be security risks. They have little chance of becoming law — the opposition from human rights organizations and others who refuse to acknowledge the nudity of the emperor is too great. We will continue screening the Norwegian grandmothers in the name of a color- and racially-blind society.

Here is a paraphrase on a quote from Shakespeare: "What's in a name? That which we call affirmative action, by any other name — like racial profiling — would stink as much."

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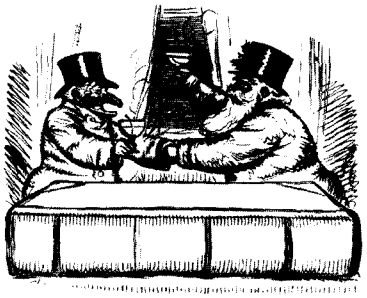

CRITICUS

Revisionism 101

BY G.B. TENNYSON

Revisionism — a revised attitude to some previously accepted political situation, doctrine, or point of view.
— *Oxford English Dictionary*

FROM A Critical point of view virtually every piece of nonfiction is revisionist. The exceptions would be works that treat a subject never before known or written about. These would be very few indeed. In fact, Criticus is hard pressed to think of one. Perhaps the discovery of a hitherto unknown tribe or animal species might qualify, although even there the discovery would be a revision of the implied assumption that no such tribe or beast existed. The same is true of discoveries in the solar system or in the deep blue sea. But where revisionism is most at home and most widely practiced is in the spheres of politics and history. Indeed, the term was first used in the 1890s to advocate the introduction of socialism by evolution rather than revolution. Such a notion was repugnant to true Marxists, so revision in the communist world became a term of abuse to denote any idea that threatened orthodox Marxism

The original use of the term was gradually softened and broadened and detached from any specific communist connection. Hence the definition cited above. Now one can engage in revisionism about any topic at all: the authorship of Shakespeare's plays, the origins of the Mayan culture, weapons of mass destruction, almost any athletic record, and so on. (Criticus, by the way, considers all athletic records bunk when we view them in the light of changed equipment, longer seasons, more rigorous training, dietary supplements, and of course drug use.) Constant Readers will recall that sometime back Criticus recommended that entertaining little volume by one Michael Quinion titled *Port Out, Starboard Home*, with cover designed so that the initial letters stood out, spelling POSH. It had long been believed that the term posh came from letters stamped on the luggage of the richer travelers on the P&O line from England to India and return, indicating that they would sail to India on the port side of the ship and return on the starboard side, thus assuring them in each direction the cooler, shadier side of a long, hot voyage in the era before air-conditioning. Quinion's revisionism showed that this story is without foundation.

G.B. Tennyson is CPR's *revisionist Rottweiler who himself needs sometimes to be approached with a big stick or, taking the kinder way, with an affectionate canine nuzzle (no, not muzzle).*

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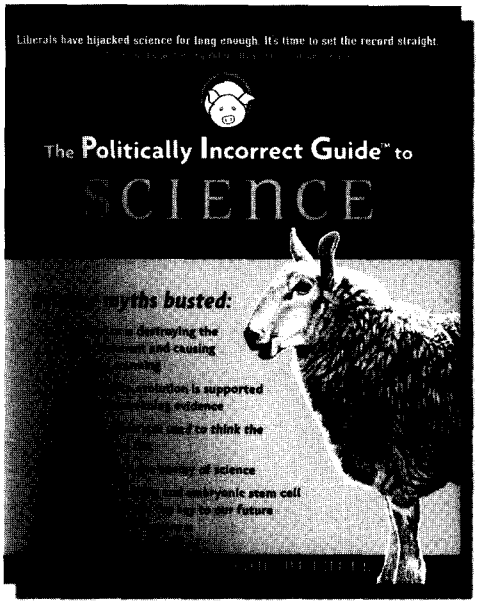
What Quinion is revising is for the most part popular misconceptions rather than written history. There is also the special case of revisionism by fiction. Recently this has come to the forefront because of the enormous popularity of *The Da Vinci Code* — the novel by Dan Brown as well as the subsequent film of the same name. All of the brouhaha (the word is not from Hebrew, says Quinion, but from French farce) over this work of fiction and its film version strikes Criticus as greatly overdone. A good number of years ago there was a book called *The Passover Plot*, which also argued that Christ did not die on the Cross, and more recently there was the film *The Last Temptation of Christ*, which also involved Mary Magdalene. It goes on and on.


Liberals have hijacked science for long enough. It's time to set the record straight.
The Politically Incorrect Guide™ to
SCIENCE

PERHAPS BECAUSE fiction is more readable for most people than history, these fictional treatments have stirred more interest than the would-be factual revisions on the same subject in several books by the hapless authorial pair who unwisely sued Dan Brown for plagiarism from their revisionist books on Brown's subject and were bankrupted for their pains. Among other "plagiarisms" the pair, Michael Baignet and Richard Leigh, claimed that Dan Brown's Leigh Teabing is a borrowing and an anagram taken from their names. Sounds plausible, rather like an inside joke but not quite like plagiarism. In the same so-what vein Criticus has earlier revealed in these pages that two years ago in Tuscany (where he was reading *The Da Vinci Code*) Criticus also visited the small hill town of Vinci where Leonardo was born and from which he took what we consider to be his surname. There is a museum there of Leonardo-inspired artifacts. Alas, no sudden insight or inspiration came the Critical way, though he did have something of the sort in another Tuscan hill town, Voltera, where he visited a splendidly ghoulish museum of torture, which gave him some revisionist ideas on his favorite dislikable persons.

If the latest claims against Dan Brown turn out to be justified, Brown may be eyeing those torture devices himself with the thought of how well they would suit the issuers of the newest charges of plagiarism against *The Da Vinci Code*. It has just emerged that two textual experts are claiming that Brown borrowed his plot from a book titled *Daughter of God* by one Lewis Perdue. One of the two experts, the director of Britain's Forensic Linguistics Institute calls Brown's book "the most blatant example of in-your-face plagiarism I've ever seen." On top of that there is a further charge that Brown copied exactly a passage from a paper by one Mark Rosheim titled "Leonardo's Last Robot." Rosheim is described as being a "robotics expert." This entire business is becoming downright interesting. If only someone can link these charges to the recently discovered "Gospel of Judas."

It all shows that revisionism extends to cover almost everything. But its happiest home remains with history, politics, and science. We know that George Washington did not chop down the cherry tree, that General Pershing did not declare in France when American troops landed in the First World War "Lafayette, we are here" (it was Lt. Col. Charles Stanton, who actually said "Nous voilà, Lafayette"), and that the truly stolen presidential election was not Bush vs. Gore, but Kennedy vs. Nixon. But the *bien pensants* are still recounting Florida.

A recent and compelling entry into the field of historical revisionism is *June 1941: Hitler and Stalin* by John Lukacs (Yale, 2006). The Hungarian-born Lukacs is the author of more than two dozen books, many of which are, like the present one, revisionist, offering new interpretations of historical events, especially those of the twentieth century and the Second World War. There is even a citation under "revisionism" in the OED from a Lukacs book from the 'fifties, which gives one an idea of how long he has been at it. Lukacs immigrated to the United States in 1946 and served for 47 years as a professor of history at Chestnut Hill College in Pennsylvania. Often described as a conservative, Lukacs shuns the label, preferring to call himself a traditionalist. He thinks American conservatism is too populist; Criticus thinks Western civilization is too populist and calls himself a monarchist.

Populism is indeed what Lukacs thinks both Hitler and Stalin catered to. He also deftly analyzes the psyche of each man. But the most arresting revisionism that Lukacs offers is his argument that, in spite of what is generally believed in the West, the Anglo-American

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forces could not have beaten Hitler without the defeat of Germany in Russia and that therefore the prime victor in the war was Stalin. In the short term this may be true, but in the long term the Soviet Union collapsed and the United States became the only superpower. Moreover, Lukacs does not speculate on what the West might have done had Hitler prevailed and become the ruler of Eurasia. After all, it was not Stalin and the Soviet Union that played any role at all in the defeat of Japan. Would the U.S. as the only possessor, and deployer, of the atomic bomb have been willing to become subservient to a Eurasian Pan-Germany? Such questions make revisionist scholarship as stimulating as it is, to say nothing of the fun of challenging a giant like Lukacs.

WARS ARE especially rich in stimulating revisionism. Even Oliver North's television series "War Stories," which is not primarily designed to be revisionist, comes up often enough with questions about certain events in the Second War. One recent episode dealt with the strange death of General George S. Patton, reminding this viewer at any rate of various strange deaths of public figures such as Ron Brown and Vince Foster, which have spawned revisionist inquiries aplenty. To be sure, in the case of the latter two deaths, Criticus is ever ready to believe the worst of the Clintons. We must hope that all of their skullduggery will be revisited in the 2008 election run of Lady Macbeth.

History is not alone in spawning revisionism. Science offers an endless narration of "facts" subsequently discredited and revised. The great bulk of such revision comes from new discoveries, from scientific research correcting previous notions. Everything from the structure of the universe to the cause of the Black Death has been revised by later investigation. Even gravity itself was apparently revised by Newton's apple, though Criticus confesses that he can't understand what was different about observing the fall of an apple. Did apples ever in history fall upwards? As for later speculations, apparently Heisenberg and Bohr in some way confounded Einstein's theory, though here again, even though Criticus some years back in London saw Michael Frayn's play *Copenhagen*, which is about the Heisenberg-Bohr meeting during the war, he still doesn't quite grasp the Uncertainty Principle. Again, common sense tells us that there is a great deal of uncertainty in everything, so why not in the universe?

This kind of theoretical physics may easily be beyond

Criticus is ever ready to believe the worst of the Clintons. We must hope that all of their skullduggery will be revisited in the 2008 election run of Lady Macbeth.

not only Criticus but many others as well. Less abstruse but still fraught with difficulty is a scientific matter that just keeps stirring debate. It is also one on which Criticus has discoursed in these pages in the past. I mean of course the Evolution-Intelligent Design debate. To the dismay of the Darwinians the issue just won't go away. Sometimes they won't let it go away. When the fossil of a hitherto unknown creature turns up, Darwinians affirm that it proves evolution. When an ancient and thought extinct sea creature like the coelacanth reappears, Darwinians assert that it proves evolution. When a new treatise by an advocate of Intelligent Design appears, Darwinians insist that it is nothing but Biblical creationism masking itself as science. Darwinians often go so far as to state that evolution is simply a fact, as though that settled the matter. All that Criticus wants to note here is the exquisite irony of the 2005 trial involving the Dover, Pennsylvania, school district that was "won" by Darwinians in that they succeeded in banning the teaching of intelligent design from the curriculum. The irony is that eighty years earlier the creationists prevailed over the evolutionists in the famous Scopes trial only to see the triumph fade during the rest of the century as Darwinism prevailed. In a strange reversal of fortune, will the Pennsylvania trial be looked back upon as the beginning of the end of dogmatic Darwinism? Certainly the proponents of Intelligent Design just won't go away. There is already a rebuttal to the Pennsylvania design in the form of a book titled *Traipsing into Evolution*. The struggle continues.

It is time, however, to look at a somewhat different style of revisionism, and fortunately we have at hand a group of books that do precisely that. I refer to the "Politically Incorrect" guides (each $19.95 in paperback) that have been coming forth in the past two years from that good old reliable publisher, Regnery. These guides now number four, and I list

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Note the 2005 trial 'won' by Darwinians in banning the teaching of intelligent design. Eighty years earlier the creationists prevailed over the evolutionists in the famous Scopes trial ....

their titles here in order to be able to refer to them more briefly as we proceed. All begin with the title *The Politically Incorrect Guide to ...* , and the subjects are: *American History* by Thomas Woods (2004), *Islam and the Crusades* by Robert Spencer (2005), *Science* by Tom Bethell, (2005), and *Women, Sex, and Feminism* by Carrie L. Lucas (2006). Note that the format and design of these books, with many boxed inserts, parallel citations, and highlighted quotes is often jocular and intended to catch the eye, but the content is quite serious indeed. Let us take each volume in turn.

American History contains eighteen chapters ranging from the colonial period to Clinton. Woods points out that the first colonists were not especially diverse but came from four areas of the British Isles, which he identifies. He also argues that the Puritans did not steal Indian lands and had no sense of racial superiority over the Indians, though they certainly thought themselves culturally superior, which after all they were. It comes as no surprise that Woods is revisionist about the War Between the States, noting that it was not primarily about slavery but about sectional power and self-determination. He quotes H.L. Mencken's withering destruction of the Gettysburg Address in which Lincoln claims that the Union soldiers fought to preserve "government of the people, by the people, for the people." On the contrary, Mencken wrote, nothing could be more untrue. "The Union soldiers in the battle actually fought against self-determination; it was the Confederates who fought for the right of their people to govern themselves." Right on, you otherwise so often wrong Sage of Baltimore.

Woods continues in this vein, defending Gilded Age capitalists, pointing out that the German government in World War I took out ads warning that they would sink the Lusitania but the British assured the public the ship was safe (it was sunk by German u-boats), making plain that the New Deal prolonged the Great Depression and that "Landslide" (he won by fraud) Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty made poverty worse, documenting that there really were communist spies and sympathizers during the McCarthy era, and ending with a fairly brief dismemberment of the Clinton presidency (would that he had written more!). There are many additional gleaming nuggets than can be cited here, but the ones noted will give you an idea.

For reasons of space we make a quicker tour of the other *Guides*. *Islam and the Crusades* tells us, as has long been known, that Islam does advocate conquest by the sword, that Muhammad was a prophet of war, that the Koran (Criticus uses the traditional transliteration, though Spencer goes with the trendier Qur'an) is a book of war, that Islam is a religion of war and a religion of intolerance. What more could a Western reader want? Well, how about an extensive section justifying the Crusades? They were actually undertaken to free the Holy Land from Muslim oppression and persecution of Christians. Most alarming is Spencer's explanation of the continuing Islamic *jihad* both in Europe and the United States and why it is dangerous to criticize Islam. This *Guide* appeared before the publication of the famous anti-Islamic cartoons, but the reactions to them prove Spencer's point. We are still waiting for a mainstream American publication to print the cartoons. I offer them here.

Then there is science, and to straighten it out there is Bethell's *Science*. As with *Islam* and the cartoons, this book appeared too soon to include an evaluation of Al Gore's scare film on global warming. But Bethell dispels the doom and gloom on that subject even without having to take on Gore. Bethell also exposes what he calls the "political epidemic" of AIDS in Africa, the exaggerated fears about nuclear energy, mistaken notions that Christians believed the earth to be flat, and several other scientifically erroneous beliefs. And of course he takes on that Critical favorite, evolution. As others have pointed out before, so Bethell notes that key Darwinian concepts such as "natural selection," and the "survival of the fittest" are in fact tautologies. They mean that "what is is" and the "survival of the survivors." For good measure Criticus throws in, not for the first time, that the supposedly scientific theory of evolution is based on, of all unscientific concepts, the idea of chance.

If Darwinism is looking ever more threadbare, by now the flaws in the garment of feminist ideology are also becoming ever more widely known. Still, it is useful, especially for women, to have them all discussed in

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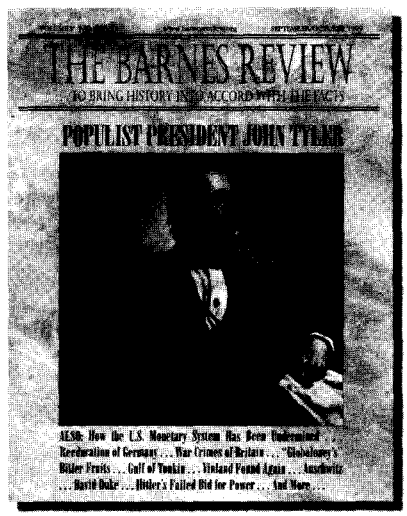
Carrie L. Lukas's *Women, Sex, and Feminism.* She takes on all the standard feminist propaganda, from such things as that there are no meaningful differences between the sexes, to marriage is bondage, to sex is rape, to men are really beasts driven to violence by testosterone (despite the fact that gender differences are illusory), to women can have it all (including jobs, marriage, and children) and no harm done.



ESPECIALLY TELLING is Lukas's final chapter, "Divorcing Uncle Sam," in which she argues that the feminist love of government action and support actually makes women more dependent on an outside source than marriage or family or other arrangements. Feminist love of big government is also what drives believers in the doctrine to vote for liberal Democrats. That alone is enough to invalidate feminism. And to invite more guides on other topics, from the federal government to higher education.

So much, then, for the Politically Incorrect guides. May their tribe increase. Still, we cannot leave the matter of revisionism without at least a glance at one of its most curious manifestations, one so touchy that it is rarely referred to by either left or right. But the fool Criticus will rush in. I mean *The Barnes Review.* If the Critical perception of an absence of comment on or reference to this publication is correct, it means that it requires a brief introduction. It was founded in 1994 by one Willis Carto and named in honor of the once-celebrated revisionist Harry Elmer Barnes. Note, however, that Barnes died in 1968 and had, as far as I know, no connection with Carto and certainly none with the publication. For that matter it does not appear that any association with Barnes other than an affinity with the idea of revisionism is claimed by the journal. The full title of the publication is: *The Barnes Review / ... To Bring History into Accord with the Facts / in the tradition of the Father of Historical Revisionism, Dr. Harry Elmer Barnes.*

Barnes was indeed a distinguished scholar and the pre-eminent revisionist of the first half of the twentieth century. He was a professor of History at Columbia University and the author of a massive string of books and articles. His most notable revisions were of the First World War and the folly of American intervention in it and the greater folly of the Versailles Treaty, which he believed led to Hitler and the Second War, a view held by many today but by few when Barnes first advanced it. Barnes was also revisionist about the origins of the Second World War, Pearl Harbor, and the Cold War. All that and Barnes's countless other revisionisms are sound and defensible, though certainly debatable. It is his association with the journal that has adopted his name that has probably contributed to Barnes's undeserved obscurity today.

The reason Barnes's name may ring no bell or a negative one is that Willis Carto is well known in those circles that keep an eye on such things as being anti-Semitic and a Holocaust Denier. He is, as it were, the American David Irving. All of which may be regrettable in its own right but regrettable also because it obscures the fact that *The Barnes Review* actually often features articles questioning and revising all manner of historical events that are well worth such examination and that have nothing to do with Carto's known preoccupations. Certainly *Barnes*, as I call it for short, is overly full not only of Holocaust revisionism but of profiles of various Nazi generals and eminences, but it also turns its attentions to subjects like Kennewick man and other claimed early European visitors to North America, various battles of the Second War, exposés of Stalin and Roosevelt, resuscitations of forgotten American populist leaders, revaluations of various world figures, re-examinations of past empires — in short, almost any topic from world history and as often as not a politically correct topic in need of scrutiny. Make no mistake, whether one agrees with all of them or not, these studies are not the sort of thing featured by *The Globe* such as "Nazi Plane Found on Moon," and the like. The *Barnes* articles are seriously researched and would require a knowledgeable historian for any full evaluation. At the same time, they are written for popular readership and frequently make instructive and entertaining reading.

Handle with care is an appropriate caution not only for *Barnes* but for all revisionist texts and for that matter just about anything you read at all. And that includes the daily newspaper, school textbooks, and the information printed on soup cans.

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First Things

Love

by John Kurzweil

In his will, communist revolutionary and Hollywood hero Ernesto "Che" Guevara enthusiastically endorsed the "extremely useful hatred that turns men into effective, violent, merciless, and cold killing machines." He spoke, presumably, from direct experience, considering that his resumé (as reported by Cato Institute Senior Fellow Tom G. Palmer) included service as "Fidel Castro's leading executioner, commanding the notorious La Cabaña prison where he summarily tried and executed hundreds of alleged enemies of the revolution."

That the left should find hatred extremely useful is in keeping with its appreciation, far outstripping that of conservatives, of the paramount practical, *political* importance of the First Things (as I have enumerated them for purposes of discussion in these columns): good, life, love, truth, and beauty.

These, I maintain, are both alpha and omega, First *and* Last Things, and conservatives tend to restrict their consideration of them to their Final Ends mode — the loftiest, most unworldly goals of life, which they are, and, thus, safely to be reserved almost exclusively for our most profoundly transcendent moments of meditation — which they emphatically are not. They are our starting place before they can be our ending place. Failure to maintain them as the foundational elements of Western Civilization (especially while the Che Guevara left attacks them unceasingly) consigns the conservative side to certain defeat.

Considered, then, as our civilization's starting place, the planting ground of our security and freedom, the First Things have the character of a basic sentence containing a subject, predicate, and object. The subject of our civilizational sentence is described by the words "good" and "life." They supply the prerequisite to any action — *i.e.*, life, or, a living subject to *perform* the action. They also supply our first principle — that "life" is "good," which *justifies* the subject in acting at all.

The predicate of the sentence is love, which is the First Things *in action*. Love is movement from self to others, from subjective to objective, from inward imaginings to outward realities, from servitude to our own appetites and feelings to giving without thought of self. Love, being action in the real world, cannot be accomplished without truth: the overthrow of our slavery to the delusions of our inward, selfish egos.

Thus, so-called "blind love" is a contradiction in terms, an attempt to make selfishness sound noble. A passion-clouded mind is self-absorbed and incapable of true love which, to be of service to the loved one, must make every effort to maintain clear-sighted hold of the truth.

The object in our sentence — that which the subject's actions bring about — is beauty, that is, works that embody the First Things and are thus beautiful, such as America's constitutional government. That government embodies the sentence parsed above, the sentence that is the central idea of The Declaration of Independence: that all men are "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness." Life, that is, which is a good — a "right" — to be put into action, freely, to pursue happiness, happiness being not only objectively good but also, as opposed to mere pleasure, an objectively real goal. We have a right to life so as to live for love in truth, which will achieve beauty.

So Che Guevara, knowing his business, found hatred, not love, *extremely* useful because it brought death, not life, and the ugliness and evil of communism, which was his objective, not beauty or good. Conservatives might use Che's insight as a reminder of what exactly this conflict is about: the foundation of all their ideas and actions, the extremely useful, no, *indispensable* First Things.

Next: Truth CPR

John Kurzweil is CPR's *editor.*

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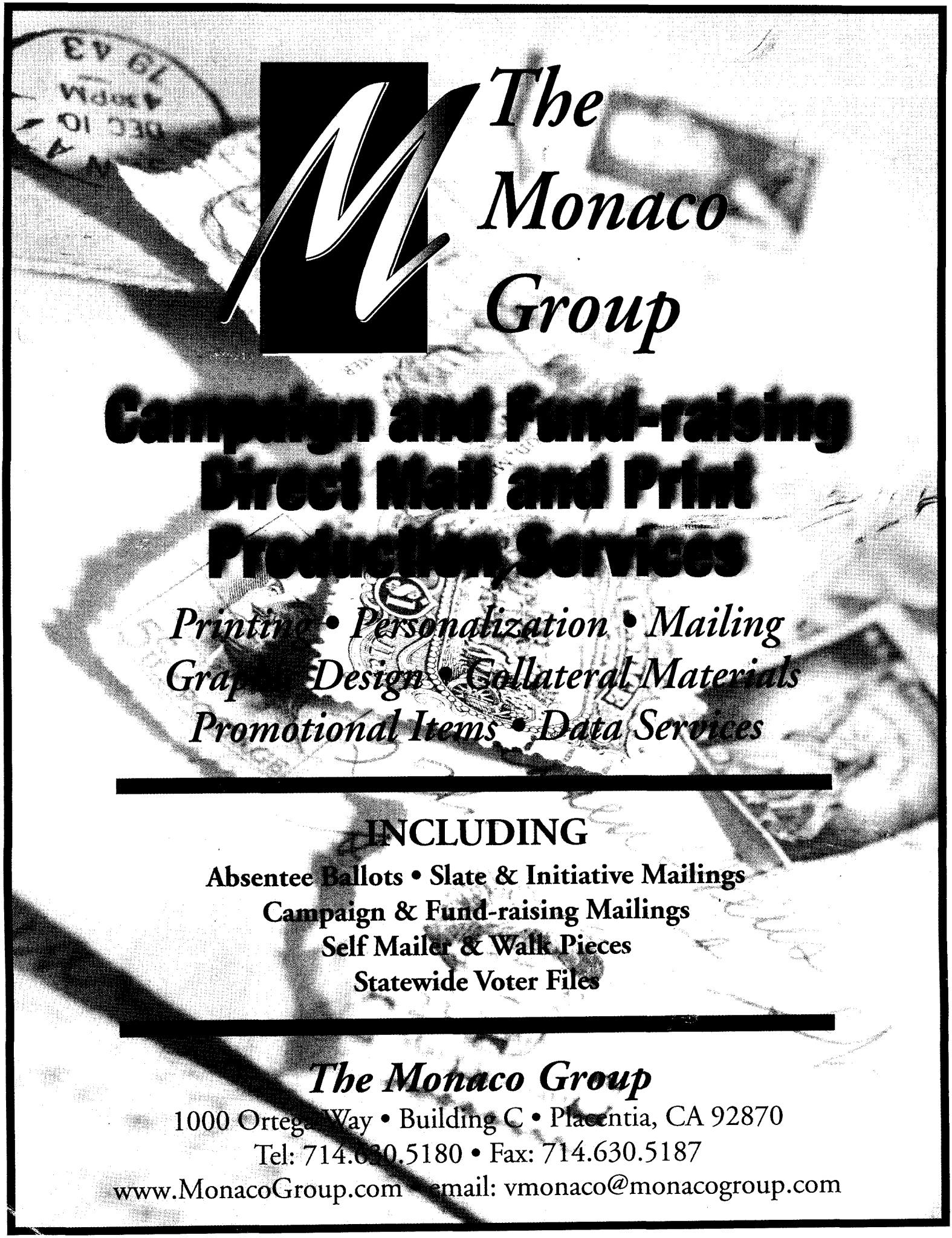
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